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ABSTRACT

This book provides students with information about culture and trace important historical events that have brought this nation to its current position in the 20th century. Each chapter provides background information along with a glossary, student activities, and project suggestions. Chapters include: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "The Early Period"; (3) "The Angkor Civilization"; (4) "The French Colonial Period"; (5) "Independence Under Sihanouk"; (6) "Revolution and Turmoil (1970-79)"; (7) "Contemporary Cambodia"; (8) "Culture"; (9) "Language and Education"; and (10) "Art and Culture." A 20-item bibliography concludes the volume. (EH)

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CAMBODIA: An Historical Overview

by
SANJEEV SHARMA

edited by
Ginger Ladd

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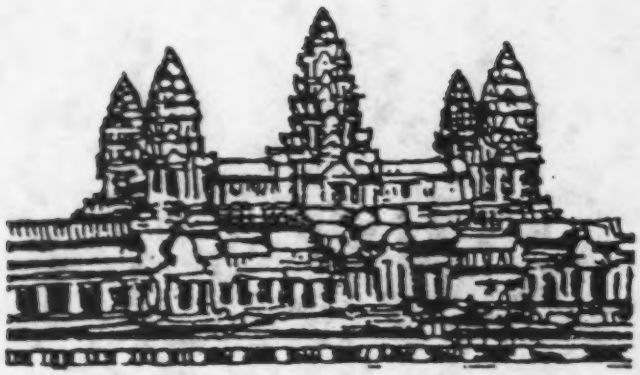

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Center for Southeast Asian Studies
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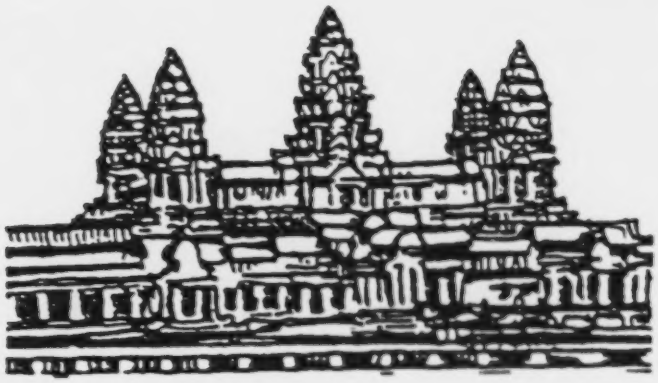

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PREFACE

One of the earliest kingdoms in Southeast Asia, Cambodia is enormously rich in culture and history. Indeed, the influence of Cambodian art is evident today throughout all of Asia.

In recent decades, however, Cambodia has been newsworthy all too frequently because of bitter and brutal warfare within its borders; wars with outsiders as well as civil wars. The world has been apprehensive about conditions in Cambodia--the deterioration of its society from 1975-1978 during the rule of the Khmer Rouge as well as the lack of adequate support and protection for the many unique monuments and art forms for which Cambodia is renown. A major concern is the future of the magnificent Angkor complex and of the many buildings and temples in Phnom Penh and scattered throughout the countryside.

This book is an overview of Cambodia's history and culture. It does not try to analyze the country's political problems, but rather attempts to provide students with information about the culture and trace important historical events that have brought this nation to its current position in the twentieth century.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is the fourth in the Center for Southeast Asian Studies' series on the Countries of Southeast Asia. A great many people cooperated in the production of this workbook, but the Center wishes to express special thanks to four people.

First, to the author, Sanjeev Sharma, who spent a great many hours researching background and statistical data. Second, Ginger Ladd, for her many hours of editing and formatting in addition to checking and re-checking the material in the student activities to be sure the text provided information needed to answer the questions adequately. Third, we want to thank Robert Van Niel, Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Hawai'i, who read the manuscript to verify the accuracy of the many historical events described throughout the book. The fourth contributor to this book, Anthony Rina Deth, carefully monitored the authenticity of the cultural information, checking with the local Cambodian community and various Cambodian language publications. Mr. Deth, Ms. Ladd and Mr. Sharma were all graduate students at the University of Hawai'i during the time they contributed to this book.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

You may have heard of Cambodia on television, or read about it in the newspapers. Usually the references are in connection with America's involvement in the Vietnam War, or the negotiations for lasting peace in the country. If you are familiar with the country's art and culture, you may know about the amazing complex of temples called Angkor Wat. For those who are hearing the name Cambodia for the first time, this book will provide insights into this country, its people, and the circumstances that have shaped its history through the centuries.

Cambodia or Kampuchea

Because the country has been referred to as both Kampuchea and Cambodia, it might confuse us about the real name of the country. The names Cambodia and Kampuchea are *transliterations* of the country's traditional name in its language, Khmer. The name Cambodia was adopted as the conventional Western spelling from the French transliteration *Cambodge*. In 1970, the country's government abolished the use of the word Cambodia and officially renamed the counntry the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea. However, many Cambodians in the United States still refer to their birthplace as Cambodia. The term Khmer refers to the language, and also to the people.

Geographical Setting

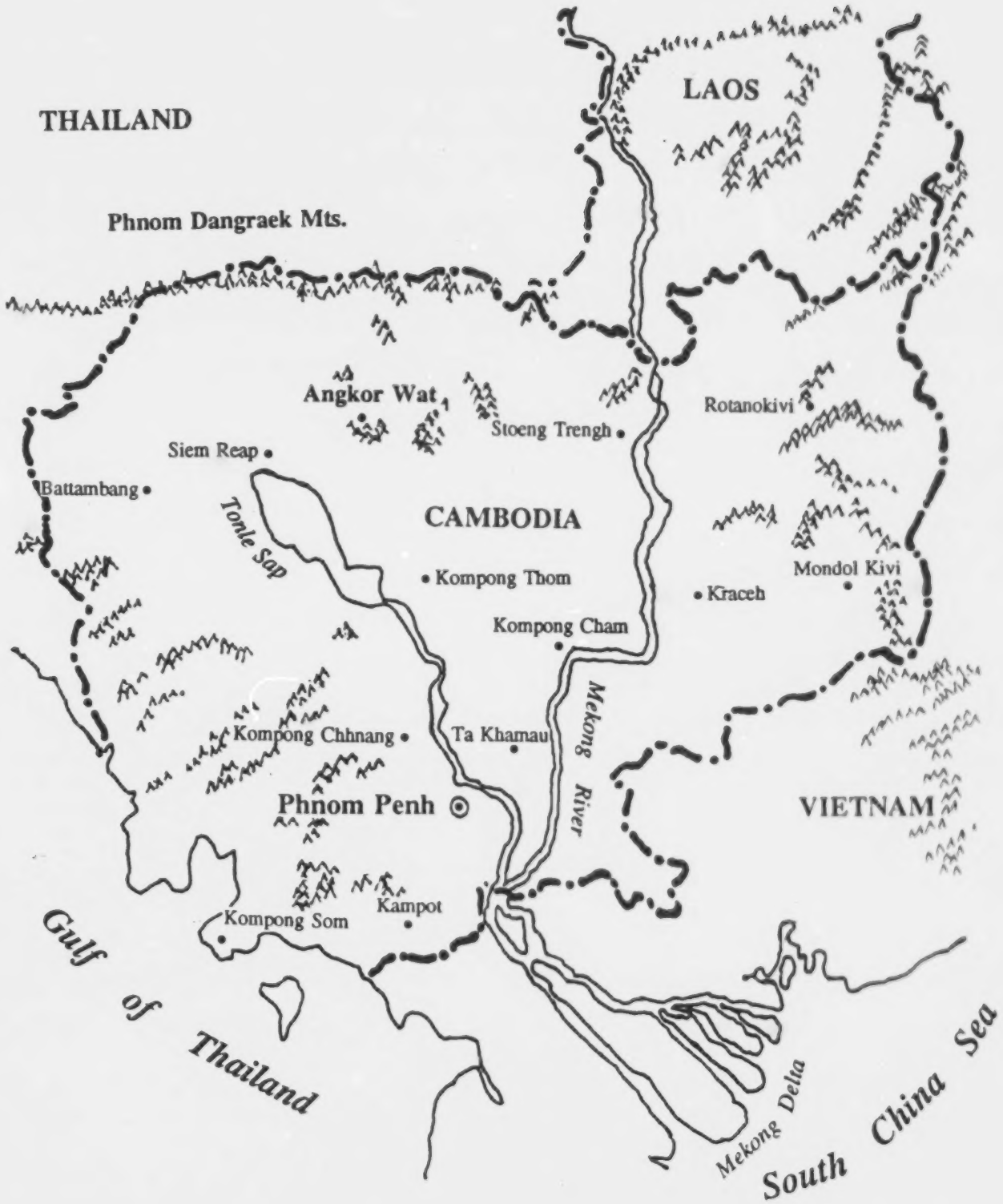
Cambodia is located in mainland Southeast Asia in the southwest part of the Indochinese *peninsula*. Together with Laos and Vietnam, Cambodia is part of what was formerly known as Indochina. Cambodia has a land area of 69,898 square miles (181,035 square kilometers) which is roughly the same as the state of Missouri. It is bordered on the west and northwest by Thailand, on the northeast by Laos, on the east and southeast by Vietnam, and on the southwest by the Gulf of Thailand (see map p.3).

The country is about 280 miles (580 kilometers) from east to west. The central region is a low-lying *alluvial plain* surrounding the Tonle Sap lake. In Khmer, Tonle Sap means great lake. In the north, along the border of Thailand, a sandstone *escarpment* marks the southern limit of a mountain range, the Phnom Dangraek. Forming a natural boundary, a southward-facing cliff stretching for more than 200 miles in an east to west direction rises abruptly form the plains to heights from 600 to 1,800 feet. East of the Mekong, the plains merge with the eastern highlands. This region of densely forested mountians and high plateaus extends northward and eastward into Laos and Vietnam. Two distinct upland areas, the Cardamom Mountains and the Elephant Mountains, form another highland region that covers much of the land area between the Tonle Sap and the Gulf of Thailand. In this remote and largely uninhabited region is Cambodia's highest mountain, Phnom Aoral, which is 5,949 feet (1,813 meters) high. The southern coastal region is a narrow lowland strip, heavily wooded and moderately populated. The southwestern highlands are effectively isolated from the central plain.

The two dominant *topographical* features of Cambodia are the Mekong River and Tonle Sap lake. Rising in Tibet and emptying into the South China Sea, the Mekong River enters Cambodia from Laos and flows broadly southward to the border of Vietnam, covering a distance of approximately 315 miles. During the rainy season, the annual flooding deposits a rich alluvial sediment that enhances the fertility of the central plains.

MAP

Cambodia



During the rainy season from mid-May to early October, the Mekong River's enormous volume of water can back up the connecting river to a distance as far as 65 miles. The water then flows into the Tonle Sap, expanding its surface area more than two and a half times the dry season maximum (1,200 square miles), to 3,000 square miles, increasing the lake's depth from seven feet to roughly thirty-five feet. When the dry season approaches, the water drains from the Tonle Sap back into the Mekong. The Tonle Sap is one of the world's richest sources of fresh water fish.

Comprehension Check 1.1

Fill in the blanks

1. The countries bordering Cambodia are _____, _____, and _____.
2. _____ is the highest mountain.
3. Of the fifty United States, _____ has an area roughly equal to that of Cambodia.
4. The two most dominant topographical features of Cambodia are the _____, and _____.
5. The Mekong rises in _____, and empties into the _____.

Discussion Point 1.1

During the rainy season the Mekong backs up into the Tonle Sap, increasing its area and volume enormously. This process is reversed during the dry season when the Tonle Sap gradually empties into the Mekong. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages for of this "flow equalization" system? How do you think this affected settlement patterns of the Cambodian people in the lowland regions?

Climate

Cambodia's climate is governed by rain bearing winds (monsoons) and is characterized by two major seasons. From mid-May to early October strong winds prevail from the southwest, bringing heavy rains and high humidity. From early November to mid-March, winds are from the northeast and are light in velocity. Cloudiness is variable, rainfall is infrequent, and humidity is low. The weather is *transitional* between the seasons.

Because Cambodia lies in the tropical zone, temperatures are high throughout the year. Maximum fahrenheit temperatures range from the mid-90's in April (the hottest month), to the low 80s in January (the coldest month). Daily minimum temperatures are usually 15 to 20 lower than maximum temperatures. Annual rainfall varies considerably from more than 200 inches on the seaward slopes of the southwestern highlands, to 55 inches on the central lowland region. Between 75 and 80 percent of the rainfall occurs during the months of the southwestern monsoon.

Flora and Fauna

About three-fourths of Cambodia's land area is forested. The central lowland region is covered with rice paddies, fields of dry crops such as corn or tobacco, tracts of tall grass and reeds, and thinly wooded areas. *Savanna* is the prevailing vegetation of the transitional plains, with grass growing up to a height of five feet. The high plateaus of the eastern areas are covered with *deciduous* forests and grassland. Broadleaf evergreen forests grow in the mountainous areas to the north. Trees grow as high as 100 feet and emerge from thick undergrowths of vines, rattans, palms, bamboo, and assorted woody and herbaceous ground plants. In the southwestern highlands, open forests of pine are found at the higher elevations, while the rain-drenched seaward slopes are blanketed with virgin *rain forest* growing to heights fo 150 feet or more. Along the coast, vegetation ranges from evergreeen forests to nearly impenetrable *mangrove* forests. Fruits that are wild or cultivated include breadfruit, jack fruit, durian, mango, mangosteen, papaya, rambutan, and bananas.

Animal life includes elephants, wild oxens, tigers, panthers, leopards, and bears, as well as many small animals. Common birds are cranes, pheasants, peacocks, pelicans, cormorants, and wild ducks. Many snakes are found in Cambodia, among which, the cobra, the king cobra, the banded krait, and Russell's viper are especially dangerous.

Settlement Patterns

Until the upheaval of the 1970s, Cambodia was a country of villages. Only a small proportion of the total population lived in urban areas of 10,000 or more inhabitants. A vast

majority of Cambodia's people inhabit the central lowland region. Village life will be discussed in a later chapter.

For the most part, the urban areas of Cambodia developed during the first half of the twentieth century as commercial centers. Most of these commercial centers were located at the intersections of land or river routes and were relatively accessible to the surrounding rural regions. Phnom Penh, the capital city, was Cambodia's single *metropolis* before it was abandoned in 1975. It is situated at the point of convergence of the Mekong, the Tonle Basak lake and the Tonle Sap lake. In 1970, Phnom Penh had a population of 500,000. In the period of the Khmer Rouge takeover (1975-1979), the city was depopulated and the people were relocated to the countryside. The city population then reached a low of twenty thousand. After the Khmer Rouge regime was overthrown in 1979, people moved back into Phnom Penh which by 1993 had a population of about 700,000.

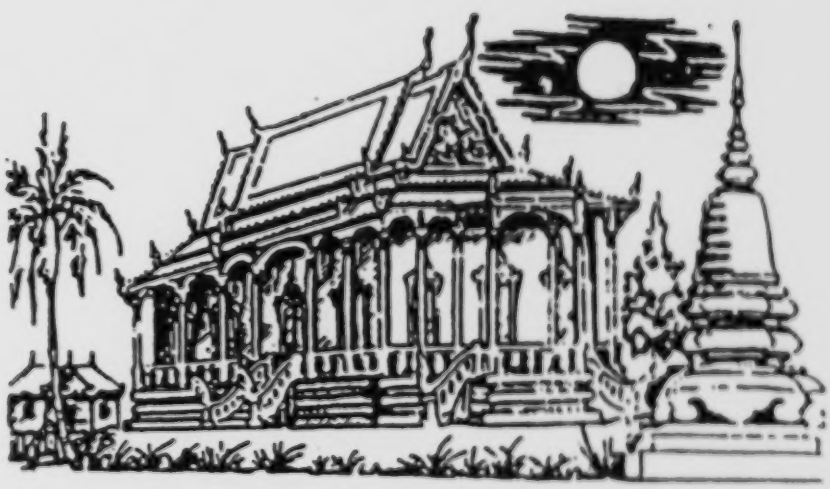
Kompong Chhnang, with a population of about 213,000, is Cambodia's second largest city. Other urban centers are Kompong Cham, Battambang, and Siem Reap. Cambodia's first national census of 1962 showed the national population to be about 5.7 million. By 1993 the population was estimated at seven million. Since then, however, large sections of the country became uninhabited, but the population density in inhabited areas is quite high.

The vast majority of the country's population is ethnic Cambodian or Khmer. Cambodia's homogeneity is unique in Southeast Asia, and has encouraged a strong sense of national identity. Other major ethnic groups are Khmer Krom, Khmer Loeu, Chinese, Vietnamese, Cham, and a number of tribal groups.

The Khmers are concentrated principally in the lowland regions surrounding the Mekong and Tonle Sap. They belong to the Mon-Khmer *ethnolinguistic* group. The Khmers migrated to the fertile Mekong Delta. Later, they were greatly influenced by India as successive waves of Indian culture were imported from the island of Java. *Tai* migrations followed from the tenth to the fifteenth century. Vietnamese migration took place in the

eighteeth and nineteenth century. As a result of this racial admixture, the Cambodian people are classified as Austroasiatics.

Of the ethnic minorites, the Chinese wielded the most power in Cambodia before 1975 as they possessed most of the country's wealth. The Chinesse retained a high degree of cultural distinctiveness, even though many had assimilated into Cambodian society by intermarriage. The Vietnamese minority was important too. Upheaval in Cambodia and Vietnam resulted in many Vietnamese migrating to Cambodia after 1970. Centuries of war and mistrust have long clouded Vietnamese-Cambodian relations and intermarriage between these two groups is uncommon. The Cham group, known in Cambodia as Khmer Islam, also maintained a high degree of ethnic homogeneity. As a tribal people, they have lived traditionally in the forested northeast area of the country. The tribal minorites are known collectively as *phnong*.



GLOSSARY

1. *alluvial plain*

A level or sloping plain resulting from the depositing of soil by a river.

2. *deciduous*

Trees that shed their leaves each year.

3. *escarpment*

A long, continuous cliff or slope that faces in one general direction and separates two levels.

4. *ethnolinguistic*

The linguistic characteristics of a population group.

5. *mangrove*

A tropical tree that sends roots down from its branches, forming dense thickets, especially in swampy areas. Large mangrove thickets, often grow in shallow water along bays, lagoons, and river mouths.

6. *metropolis*

The chief town or city of a country or region.

7. *peninsula*

An area of land that is nearly surrounded by water. Some peninsulas, such as India, are joined to the mainland by a broad base. Others are connected to the mainland by a narrow strip of land called an isthmus.

8. *savanna*

A grassland with a few scattered trees and shrubs. Most savannas are in the tropics and are located between deserts and rain forests. Savanna grasses grow in clumps and do not form a continuous ground cover. Trees grow in savannas only in the dry season.

9. *Tai*

A large group of people who live in south China and throughout mainland Southeast Asia.

10. *topography*

Natural surface features of the land such as hills, valleys, and lakes, as well as artificial features such as bridges, tunnels, roads, and cities.

GLOSSARY (cont.)

11. *transitional*

When used in terms of weather, the period between the wet season and the dry season. The intensity of the rainfall decreases and the direction of the wind changes gradually during the transition from the wet season to the dry season between mid-October to mid-November. This transition is reversed during the change from the dry season to the wet season between March and May.

12. *transliteration*

To substitute the words of one language with words of another.

13. *tropical rain forest*

A forest of tall trees in a region of year around warmth and plentiful rainfall. Most tropical rain forests are located near the equator. Tropical rain forests stay green throughout the year and have many more species of plants and animals than other types of forests.

Student Activity 1
Map Exercise

1. Locate the following countries on a world map: India, China, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

Student Activity 2
True or False

____1. The words Kampuchea and Cambodia refer to the same country.

____2. Cambodia is bordered on the west by Laos.

____3. The Tonle Sap empties into the Gulf of Thailand.

____4. Before 1975, the Chinese possessed most of the economic wealth in Cambodia.

____5. Traditionally, Cambodia's population has been evenly distributed throughout the country.

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice

1. Which of the following countries does not border Cambodia:

   a. Laos
   b. Vietnam
   c. Indonesia
   d. Thailand

2. Indochina includes which of the following countries:

   a. Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam
   b. Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia
   c. Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand
   d. Cambodia and Laos

3. Which of the following mountain ranges forms a natural boundary with Thailand:

   a. Cardamom Mountains
   b. Elephant Mountains
   c. Chur Phnom Dangraek
   d. None of the above

4. The Mekong River:

   a. Rises in Tibet and empties into the Gulf of Thailand
   b. Flows through the Tonle Sap
   c. Forms a natural boundary with Vietnam
   d. Floods annually

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice (cont.)

5. Monsoon season in Cambodia lasts from:

   a. mid-March to mid-May
   b. early-November to mid-March
   c. mid-May to early September
   d. mid-May to early October

6. How much of Cambodia's land area is forested:

   a. about 60%
   b. about 75%
   c. about 50%
   d. about 25%

7. What kind of forests are not found in Cambodia:

   a. virgin rain forests
   b. mangrove forest
   c. temperate coniferous forests
   d. broadleaf evergreen forests

8. Cambodians are classified as:

   a. Melanesians
   b. Austroasiatics
   c. Polynesians
   d. Asiatics

9. The tribal people have traditionally lived:

   a. in the forested northeast of the country
   b. in the rain forests of the southwestern highlands
   c. in the land area between Tonle Sap and the Gulf of Thailand
   d. in the southern coastal region

10. The country with which Cambodia shares the longest border is:

    a. Thailand
    b. Laos
    c. Vietnam
    d. Malaysia

Student Activity 4
Matching Columns

1.____ great lake	a. coolest month
2.____ highest mountain	b. tribal people
3.____ April	c. monsoon season begins
4.____ January	d. second largest city
5.____ May	e. dangerous snake
6.____ Banded Krait	f. warmest month
7.____ Kampong Chhnang	g. Phnum Aoral
8.____ *phnong*	h. Tonle Sap

Student Activity 5
General Questions

1. A vast majority of Cambodia's people inhabit the central lowlands. This region is subject to the annual flooding of the Mekong River. Why does it still have a high population density? (Hint: think of the advantages.) What kind of houses would the people live in to avoid flood damage?

2. About three fourths of Cambodia is forested. What proportion of the United States is forested? Why are forests important to people?

3. Rice is the major crop of Cambodia. What factors make the intensive cultivation of rice attractive, especially in the central lowlands?

4. Cambodia has several ethnic minorities. Do you think that their co-existence has probably been peaceful throughout the centuries? Why or why not?

Student Activity 6
Group Project

1. Locate the areas having virgin rainforests on your atlas. Find out their land area 50 years ago and now. Is there a difference? Why are rainforests significant? A developing country like Cambodia with a vast acreage of forested area would be likely to open up its forests to logging. This would enable the government to receive foreign currency to finance development projects for the country. What would your recommendations be for officials to remain environmentally conscious while gaining economic benefits? List the pros and cons of the issue and discuss in detail your views.

2. Cambodia has several ethnic groups. Why and when did these people migrate to this country? Compare and contrast the migration of different ethnic groups to Cambodia with the migration of different ethnic groups to the United States.

ANSWER KEY

Student Activity 2
True or False

1. T
2. F
3. F
4. T
5. F

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice

1. C
2. B
3. C
4. D
5. D
6. B
7. C
8. B
9. A
10. C

Student Activity 4
Matching

1. H
2. G
3. F
4. A
5. C
6. E
7. D
8. B

CHAPTER 2

The Early Period

Archaeological evidence indicates that parts of the region now called Cambodia were inhabited during the first and second millennia B.C. by people of a *Neolithic* culture. By the first century A.D., the inhabitants had developed relatively stable and organized societies. The most advanced groups lived along the coast and in the lower Mekong River valley and delta regions where they cultivated *irrigated rice*.

Scholars believe that these people may have been Austroasiatic in origin, and related to the ancestors of the groups who now inhabit insular Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands. These ancient people worked metals such as iron and bronze and possessed navigational skills. It is believed that the Mon-Khmer people, who arrived at a later date, intermarried with this group. The Cambodians who now inhabit Cambodia may have migrated from southeastern China to the Indochinese peninsula before their present Vietnamese, Thai, and Lao neighbors. In what is now modern Cambodia, Mon-Khmer became the dominant language after the Khmers had asserted themselves as political leaders, first in the state of Funan, centered in present southern Cambodia, and later in the north central kingdom of Chenla.

The Funan Period (200-532 A.D.)

At about the time the ancient peoples of Western Europe were absorbing the classical culture of the Mediterranean, the peoples of mainland Southeast Asia were responding to the influence of Indian civilization that had emerged in northern India during the previous millennium. The Britons, Gauls, and Iberians experienced Mediterranean influences directly through conquest and by incorporation into the Roman Empire. In contrast, the speed of India's influence in Southeast Asia was a slower process than the Romanization of Europe because there was no period of direct Indian rule there, and because natural land and sea barriers separating the region from the Indian subcontinent are considerable. Nevertheless,

Indian religion, political thought, literature, *mythology*, and artistic *motifs* gradually became integral elements in local Southeast Asian cultures but, India's caste *system* was never adopted. The Indianization of Southeast Asia stimulated the rise of highly-organized centralized states there.

Funan, the earliest of the Indianized states, is considered to be the first Khmer kingdom in the area. Founded in the first century A.D., Funan was located in the lower reaches of the Mekong River delta. Its capital, Vyadhapura, was probably located near the present day town of Phumi Banang in Prey Veng Province. The earliest historical reference to Funan is a description by a Chinese mission that visited the country in the third century A.D. The word Funan is derived from the Chinese rendition of the old Khmer word *bnam* (mountain). What the Funanese called themselves is not known.

Always regarded by later Khmer dynasties as the state from which they sprang, Funan owed its prosperity to its strategic position in the great east-west trade route between India and China. The national birth legend of the Funanese state tells of the arrival of a foreign *Brahmin*, Kaundinya, who married a local woman named Willow Leaf and set Funan upon its path to greatness. Modern scholars believe that relatively few Indians, Buddhist traders, or Brahmins actually established themselves in positions of power and urged acceptance of their ideas of *statecraft*, religion, and art in Funan.

Before the third century, the extent of Indian influence in Funan is uncertain, but a clearer picture of that period emerges from the records left by two Chinese ambassadors who visited the country in A.D. 245. By that time Funan had extended its political power over the lower regions of the Mekong and Tonle Sap, as far west as the area of the Malay peninsula where trade passed from the Indian Ocean to the Gulf of Thailand.

The growth of the state of Funan had taken place under the rule of King Fan Shihman (205-225 A.D.) and his nephew, Fan Chan (225-240 A.D.), who usurped the throne. Fan Hsun (240-287) later took over the throne from Fan Chan. A Chinese ambassador described

Funan as a land of walled cities in which rulers gathered taxes in the form of precious metals, jewels, and perfumes.

The reign of Fan Chan and Fan Hsun saw the development of official relations between Funan, China, and India. Little is known of the extent to which Indian culture influenced the development of these official relationships. In the latter part of the fourth century, and particularly in the fifth century, the influence of Indian Culture reached its peak.

Trade and Economy

Within the early period of Funan's history, the population was primarily concentrated in villages along the Mekong river and along the Tonle Sap river. Transportation and communication took place along the rivers and their *delta* tributaries. The area was a natural region for the development of an economy based on fishing and rice cultivation. There is considerable evidence that the Funanese economy depended on rice cultivation produced by an extensive inland irrigation system which reached into the *hinterland*. Maritime trade played an important role in the development of Funan. The remains of what is believed to have been the kingdom's main port, Oc Eo (now part of Vietnam), contain Roman as well as Persian, Indian, and Greek artifacts.

Comprehension Check 2.1

Fill in the blanks

1. _____ was the capital of Funan.
2. Funan was in the trade route between _____ and _____.
3. Fan Chan usurped the throne of Funan from King _____.
4. _____ and _____ religious coexisted within the state.
5. The economy was based on _____ and _____.

Society, Lifestyles, and Religion

Funan was a slave-owning society in which the wealthy decorated themselves with gold and silver jewelry and rich brocades. The king lived in an ornate palace and traveled on

is known of Funanese architecture since most buildings were constructed of wood. Sculpture and architecture were heavily influenced by Indian styles. However, in the sixth century a distinctive form of Funanese art emerged which combined Indian *iconography* with Khmer elements.

Sanskrit inscriptions, based on Indian script, provide a more precise chronology of the reign of Funanese rulers and show that Hinduism and *Mahayana Buddhism* coexisted within the state. Hinduism was the religion of the rulers of Funan in the fifth and sixth centuries, but Buddhism was widely practiced in the kingdom as well. There is evidence that Buddhism enjoyed a measure of royal patronage. The importance of Buddhism in the state was such that a Chinese embassy visited the country between 535 A.D. and 545 A.D. to ask the ruler, Rudravarman (514-539 A.D.) to provide Buddhist texts and teachers who would give instruction in China.

The Decline of Funan

The kingdom of Funan reached its peak in the fifth century, and was at the height of its power under the rule of King Kaundinya Jayavarman (514 A.D.). Early in the sixth century civil wars and dynastic strife undermined Funan's stability, making it easy prey to invasions by hostile neighbors. Rudravarman was the last king to reign over an independent state. The subjugation of Funan by the rulers of the emerging state of Chenla marks a major period in Cambodian history.

Discussion Point 2.1

What is one of the factors that influenced the development of Khmer art in the sixth century?

The Chenla Period

The first ruler claiming sovereignty over both Chenla and Funan was Bhavavarman, the grandson of Rudravarman of Funan. This has led some historians to suggest that the

Chenla and Funan kings belonged to two branches of the same dynasty. Funan continued to send embassies to China until the beginning of seventh century, and was able to retain some autonomy under Bhavavarman, whose capital was probably north of the Tonle Sap. Bhavavarman's brother, Mahendravarman (600-611 A.D.), who succeeded him left inscriptions that reveal considerable activity in the northeastern region of modern Cambodia.

The power of the Chenla rulers over the declining state of Funan became absolute under the rule of Mahendravarman's son, Isanavarman (611-635 A.D.). The power of Chenla was extended to the west as well as to the south, and good relations with the state of Champa were sealed as a result of Isanavarman's marriage to a Cham princess. Isanavarman's capital, Isanapura, at the modern site of Sambor Prei Kuk, near Kompong Thom, has the most impressive cluster of pre-ninth century ruins in Cambodia. A series of brick towers predate a number of later developments in Khmer art, and the site remained important as a center of scholarship during the Angkorian period.

Khmer power extended throughout the Indochinese region under Isanavarman's successors, Bhavavarman II and Jayavarman I, and lasted through most of the seventh century. The division of Chenla into two separate regions began during the reign of Jayavarman I. According to Chinese chronicles, the two parts were known as Land Chenla (Upper) and Water Chenla (Lower). Land Chenla maintained a relatively stable existence, but Water Chenla was apparently in a state of constant turbulence.

In spite of the political difficulties that later sprang from the period, the seventh century was a time for continuing artistic development. Daily life was much as it had been in Funan. Indian influence continued to be important and the two Indian religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, continued to coexist. Of great future significance, was the fact that after the Khmers arrived in lowland Cambodia they used hydraulic techniques for agricultural production. In addition, the use of water damming methods was implemented to a great extent in the complex water systems of Angkor.

Water Chenla, the southern division of Chenla, was an unsettled state beset by dynastic rivalries. It had inherited Funan's position on the east-west trade route and was negatively affected in the six and seventh centuries when traders began traveling to China through the state of Srivijaya in southern Sumatra, bypassing the Malay peninsula and Water Chenla. Along with this interruption of the trading link with the west, was a sharp decline in contact with India. This period of decline was followed by a rapid development of Khmer artistic output that was inspired by local rather than foreign talent.

Late in the eighth century, Water Chenla was subjected to attacks by pirates from Java, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula.

By the beginning of the ninth century, the kingdom had apparently become a *vassal* of the Sailendra dynasty of Java. The last of the Water Chenla kings was allegedly killed around 790 A.D. by a Javanese monarch whom he had offended. The ultimate victor in the strife that followed was the ruler of a small Khmer state located north of the Mekong Delta. His ascension of the throne as Jayavarman II (802-850 A.D.) marked the liberation of the Khmers from Javanese *suzerainty* and the beginning of a unified Khmer nation.

GLOSSARY

1. *Brahmin*

A member of the priestly class or caste in India.

2. *caste system*

Caste is a social class to which a person belongs by birth. The term is most often applied to the closed groups into which people of India are divided. Within a caste most people share the same culture, occupation, religious group, and level of wealth. Each caste has its own rituals and customs.

3. *Cham*

People of the ancient kingdom of Champa in the central part of Vietnam.

4. *delta*

A low plain composed of clay and sand sediment deposited at the mouth of a river. Deltas are roughly triangular shape and they form where rivers flow into large bodies of standing water.

5. *hinterland*

Regions beyond metropolitan or cultural centers.

6. *iconography*

Illustrations of a subject by pictures or other representations.

7. *Mahayana*

Literally "the great vehicle". A sect of Buddhism originating in India around the second century B.C. This sect developed a new interpretation of the Buddha's teachings.

8. *motifs*

Dominant ideas or central themes in a culture.

9. *mythology*

the study of stories that explain what are considered to be historical events and natural phenomenon, e.g., how the earth was formed.

10. *Neolithic*

A period from about 8000 B.C. to 3000 B.C.

11. *Sanskrit*

A language that developed in India around 1500 B.C. It belongs to the Indo-European group of languages, which also includes English, German, Latin, and Farsi (Persian).

12. *statecraft*

The art of conducting state affairs and state management.

13. *suzerainty*

A dominant state that has some degree of control over another state with regard to its foreign relations while allowing the lesser state, its suzerain, control over its internal affairs. The dominant state is said to exercise its suzerainty over the lesser state.

14. *trial by ordeal*

A system of justice in which the defendant is subjected to various forms of torture. If the injuries healed within a prescribed time, the defendant was pronounced innocent.

15. *usurped*

To have seized power illegally.

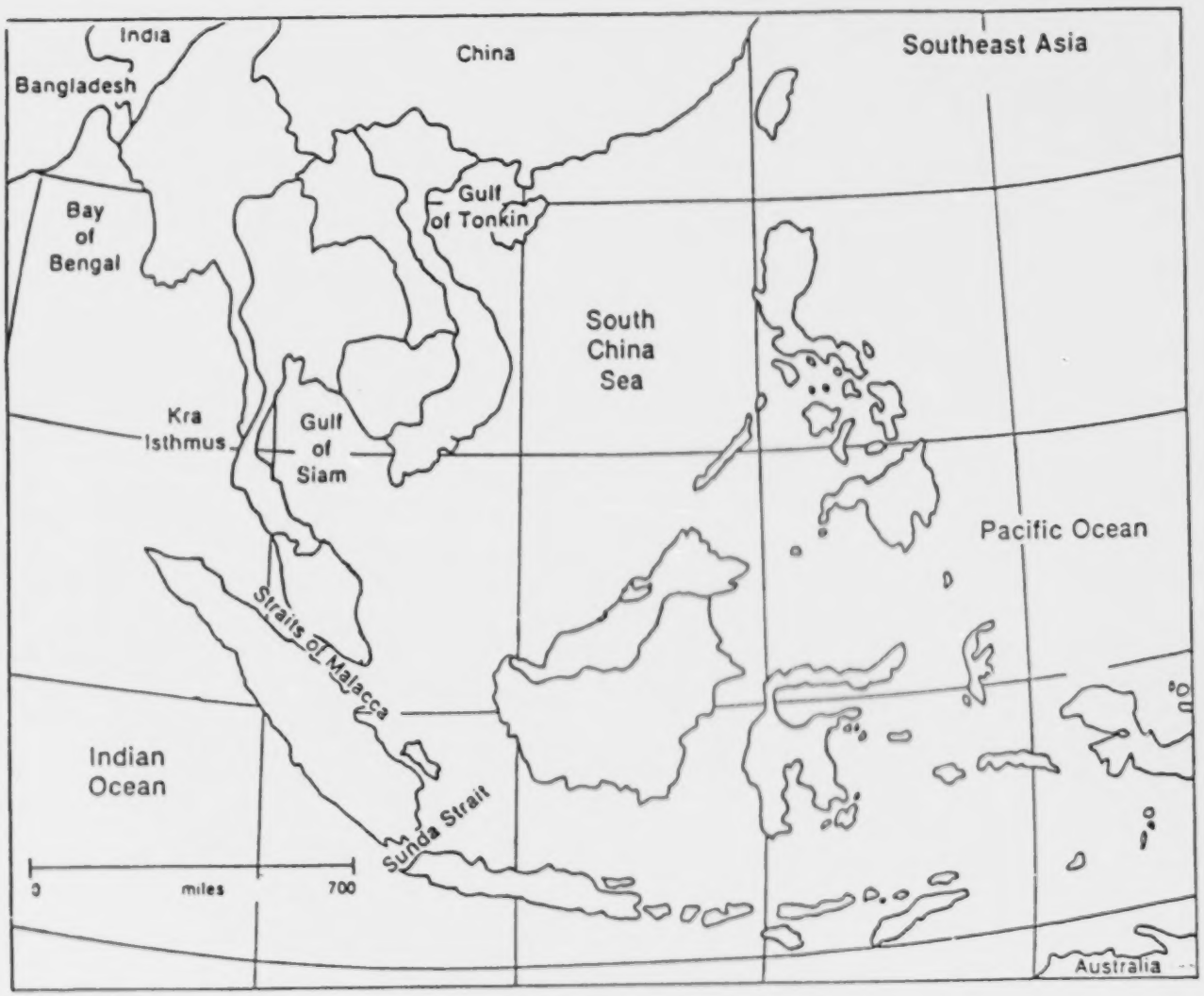
16. *vassal*

An individual or nation under the rule of another person or nation.

Student Activity 1
Map Exercise

1. Locate the following: Burma, Sumatra, Java, Malaysia, and the Mekong Delta.

2. Which countries are generally considered mainland Southeast Asia? Which countries are generally considered island Southeast Asia? (Hint: There are a total of ten countries.)



Student Activity 2
True or False

____1. Parts of Cambodia were probably inhabited in the first century B.C. by people of a Neolithic culture.

____2. The Khmers arrived in Cambodia after their Vietnamese, Thai, and Lao neighbors.

____3. The state of Funan was located in present day southern Cambodia.

____4. Funan owed its prosperity to the Mekong River.

____5. A large number of Indians settled in Funan in the third and fourth centuries A.D.

____6. The main sources of information about Funan are the accounts of Chinese ambassadors who visited the kingdom.

____7. Buddhism was the religion of Funan rulers in the Sixth century A.D.

____8. Bhavavarman was the first ruler to claim sovereignty over Funan and Chenla.

____9. The division of Chenla into two separate regions began during the reign of Isananvarman.

____10. Late in the sixth century A.D. Chenla was subjected to attacks by pirates from present day Vietnam.

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice

1. In the first and second millennia B.C., the people of present day Cambodia:

   a. were hunter-gatherers
   b. were wandering nomads
   c. had a Neolithic culture
   d. had built an extensive irrigation system

2. In the first century A.D., the most advanced people in present day Cambodia did not:

   a. work metal
   b. have stable organized societies
   c. have navigational skills
   d. build the large complex of temples at Angkor Wat

3. The Indian influence manifested itself:

   a. through direct conquest
   b. by the influx of a large number of people from India
   c. by the transfusion of Indian religion, political thoughts, literature, and art
   d. by the adoption of the caste system

4. The earliest state in Cambodia was:

   a. Funan
   b. Chenla
   c. Water Chenla
   d. Land Chenla

5. Vyadhapura literally means:

   a. city of mountains
   b. city of lights
   c. city of hunters
   d. none of the above

6. Which of the following is true about Funan:

   a. it was a slave-owning society
   b. maritime trade played an important role in its prosperity
   c. cockfights were a popular form of amusement for the common people
   d. Buddhism was the religion of the rulers

7. Funan's main port, Oc Eo, was situated in present day:

   a. Malaysia
   b. Thailand
   c. Vietnam
   d. Cambodia

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice (cont.)

8. Indianization stimulated:

   a. frenzied temple-building activity
   b. the rise of highly organized, centralized states
   c. a sharp increase in trade with India
   d. none of the above

9. The division of Chenla into two separated regions began under the reign of:

   a. Bhavavarman II
   b. Isanavarman
   c. Jayavarman I
   d. Mahendravarman

10. Interruption in trading links with countries to the west led to:

   a. a sharp decline in contracts with India
   b. rapid development of indigenous Khmer art
   c. both a and b
   d. none of the above

Student Activity 4
Matching Columns

1.____Funan	a. Sumatra
2.____Chenla	b. stable existence
3.____Vyadhapuar	c. Java
4.____Oc Eo	d. turbulent existence
5.____Isanapura	e. port city
6.____Water Chenla	f. Sambor Prei Kuk
7.____Land Chenla	g. Prey Veng Province
8.____Sailendra Dynasty	h. seventh century
9.____Srivijaya	i. North-Central Kingdom
10.___hydraulic techniques	j. Southern Kingdom

Student Activity 5
General Questions

1. How was the Indianization of Southeast Asia different from the Romanization of Europe?

2. Describe the importance of maritime trade in the growth and development of Funan.

3. The Khmers developed hydraulic techniques for agricultural production. What impact did that have on the development of Chenla?

4. In the seventh century, why did traders begin to bypass Chenla on their way to China?

Student Activity 6
Group Projects

1. Compare and contrast the lifestyle of people in Cambodia and India around the first century B.C. Specifically focus on the state of agriculture, science, religion, art, and political development. What factors do you think encouraged the "Indianization" of Cambodia? Explain your answer.

2. Development of civilization in Cambodia took place along the Mekong River Valley. Outline the development of another civilization in another part of the world along a river valley. Discuss the reasons why so many civilizations have flourished around river valleys.

ANSWER KEY

Student Activity 1
Map Exercise

1. The countries of mainland Southeast Asia are generally considered to be: Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos.

2. The countries of island Southeast Asia are generally considered to be: the Philippines, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore.

Student Activity 2
True or False

1. T
2. F
3. T
4. F
5. F
6. T
7. F
8. T
9. F
10. F

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice

1. C
2. D
3. C
4. A
5. C
6. D
7. C
8. B
9. C
10. C

Student Activity 4
Matching

1. J
2. I
3. G
4. E
5. F
6. D
7. B
8. C
9. A
10. H

CHAPTER 3
The Angkor Civilization

The Angkorian period lasted from the early ninth century to the early fifteenth century A.D. In terms of cultural accomplishments and political power, this was the golden age of Khmer civilization. In the last chapter, we learned that in the latter part of the eighth century, the Sailendra rulers of Java began to influence Cambodia. Around the year 800 A.D., Jayavarman II, who had been on Java, returned to establish his kingdom. The concept of a unified state was finally established during the reign of Jayavarman II. During this period, the kingdom was given the name Cambodia, a name derived from Kambuja, the name of an early state in northern India. Also during this reign, a new state religion that established the concept of a Khmer ruler as a *devaraja* (god-king) was introduced.

On his return from Java, Jayavarman II first established a capital at Indrapura in modern day Kampong Cham Province. His subsequent three capitals were all farther north, east of the Tonle Sap. Strategically Indrapura was remote, thus safe from the threat of external attack. In addition, the Tonle Sap lake provided a source of fish, and with the application of hydraulic engineering the surrounding plains were an ideal area for rice cultivation. Once Jayavarman II had chosen this location as a center of Khmer power, he took part in a ceremony consecrating himself a devaraja, and proclaimed his kingdom an independent state. This ceremony, perpetuated by his Angkorian successors, symbolized the complete sovereignty of Jayavarman II.

Jayavarman II was succeeded by his son Jayavarman III (850-877), who left no significant mark upon Khmer history. Indravarman I (877-889), a cousin of the previous ruler, followed and extended the control of the state as far west as the Khorat Plateau in Thailand. He built two great stone temple mountains, Bakong and Preah Ko, which mark the beginning of Khmer classical art, the style in which later temples were constructed. In sculpture and the arts, the ninth century brought a revival of techniques that combined Khmer traditions with those of Java and Champa.

More important was Indravarman I's construction of a vast irrigation system. By means of an artificial reservoir this system assured cultivation of rice in areas that otherwise would have remained uncultivated. In a later period, further development of the irrigation system enabled the Khmers to maintain a densely populated and a highly centralized state in a relatively small area.

Indravarman I's son, Yasovarman I (889-900), built his capital, Yasodapura, in the present day area of Angkor Proper. Irrigation of this area depended upon the Eastern Baray reservoir where the water was supplied from the Siem Reap River. Evidence of this reservoir remains to the present time. Its *dikes* were more than six kilometers long and 1.6 kilometers wide. The elaborate system of canals and reservoirs built under Indravarman I and his successors were the key to prosperity for half a millennium. By freeing cultivators from dependence on unreliable seasonal monsoons, it became possible to produce more than one rice crop per year. This provided the country with large surpluses of rice. Kambuja's decline during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was probably hastened by the deterioration of this irrigation system. Attacks by foreign invaders and dynastic rivalries diverted resources used for the maintenance of the irrigation system, thus allowing it to gradually fall into disrepair. Yasovarman I built monasteries throughout his kingdom for both Hindus and Buddhists. The remains of his temples, particularly that of Phnom Bakheng, illustrate the Khmer genius of blending architectural construction with religious symbolism.

Comprehension Check 3.1

Fill in the blanks

1. From the early ninth to the mid-fifteenth century, Cambodia was known as _____.
2. Jayavarman II returned from Java to establish his first capital at Indrapura. In modern day_____Province.
3. The two great stone mountains,_____and _____ mark the beginning of Khmer classical art.
4. The Eastern Baray was supplied from the _____ River.
5. Deterioration of_____contributed to the decline of Kambuja in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Not much is known about the century following Yasovarman I's death in 900 A.D. Chinese records vanished with the internal division of China after the fall of the Tang Dynasty. Six Khmer kings ruled during the tenth century. The last one, Jayavarman V (968-1001), is principally known for his efforts to control Champa and the promotion of scholarship and learning.

Government and Society

The power of Khmer kings was often limited by the complex *bureaucracy* of the state. Much of their time was taken up by ceremonial and religious functions deemed necessary to insure the well being of the state. The bureaucracy was composed of learned Brahmins and military leaders, many of whom were members of the royal family. They intermarried and formed a class separate from the majority of the population. They were particularly influential in regions distant from the capital. Although the construction of a temple mountain was the prerogative of the king alone, high officials founded their own shrines, each of which were supported by surrounding villages which endured the high cost of maintaining the temple and priests.

Angkorian society was divided into narrow and complex classifications. Little is known about the status and daily lives of the slaves. Below the imperial class was the class of officials with landowners with no official status, teachers, and priests following in that order.

Discussion Point 3.1

We have just read that the Khmer monarchs did not exercise absolute power in the state. Is the power of the President of the United States absolute or restricted? Explain.

Suryavarman's Empire

Suryavarman I (1002-1050) succeeded Jayavarman I and extended Khmer power over much of modern Thailand and the Mekong Valley regions, as far as the Laotian

kingdom of Luang Prabang. Suryavarman I was able to establish stable relations with Champa and Vietnam. His son, Udayadityavarman II (1050-1066), carried out his expansionist policies. Udayadityavarman II's reign was marked with revolts by the Cham in the southeast, the Burmese in the west, as well as the citizens of his kingdom. In spite of this, he built another reservoir, the Western Baray, which greatly increased the area of cultivation in the region around Angkor.

Udayadityavarman II was succeeded by his brother, Harshavarman III (1066-1080). During his rule, an incursion of the Cham army into Sambhupura, a city on the Mekong near the modern town of Kracheh, resulted in that city's complete destruction. Harshavarman III's reign was followed by feuds among the dynasties until the ascent of Suryavarman II, one of the greatest Angkorian monarchs.

Suryavarman II (1113-1150) expanded his kingdom's territory through a series of successful wars against the kingdom of Champa in central Vietnam, the Kingdom of Nam Viet in northern Vietnam, and several smaller kingdoms near the Irrawaddy River in Burma. He established control over the northern part of the Malay Peninsula as well. Suryavarman II's greatest achievement was the construction of the temple city complex of Angkor Wat. Completed at about the time of his death in 1150, Angkor Wat is the largest religious *edifice* in the world, and is considered the greatest single architectural work in the Southeast Asia. By the end of his reign, the combined effects of an over ambitious external policy and the demands his construction projects had placed upon the resources reduced the power of the state. Immediately after his death, the state was faced with a revolt by the Chams in the east. These revolts, combined with internal dynastic struggles, further weakened the state culminating in an invasion by the neighboring Chams which destroyed the city of Angkor in 1177.

Jayavarman VII

The Cham were ultimately driven out and conquered by Jayavarman VII, whose reign (1181-1218) marked the *apogee* of Kambuja's power. Unlike his predecessors, Jayavarman

VII was a patron of Mahayana Buddhism. The most active builder of all the Angkorian monarchs, he embarked on a frenzy of building activity that included the Angkor Thom complex and the Bayon, a remarkable temple whose stone towers depict 216 faces of The Buddha, gods, and kings. Often quality suffered for the sake of size as is revealed by the grandiose but rather poorly constructed Bayon. He also built 200 rest houses and hospitals throughout his kingdom. Like the Roman emperors, Jayavarman VII maintained a system of roads between his capital and provincial towns.

The impressive structures of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom were the focus of Hindu and Buddhist cults that celebrated the divinity of the monarch and his family. Typically, the temples' dimensions reflected the ideology of the Hindi mythological universe. For example, the five towers at the center of the Angkor Wat complex represent the peaks of Mount Meru, the center of the universe. An outer wall depicts the mountains that define the world's edge while the moat depicts the *cosmic* ocean. Like many other ancient edifices, the monuments of the Angkorian region absorbed vast reserves of resources and human labor. Although we know they were monuments to the rulers who had them built, other aspects of these great temples remain shrouded in mystery.

Theraveda Buddhism

Theravada Buddhism, originating in Sri Lanka, was introduced in Burma during Jayavarman VII's reign. Arriving in Kambuja through the Mon Kingdoms of Burma, it challenged the royal Hindu and Mahayana Buddhist cult. Preaching austerity and the salvation of the individual through his or her own efforts, Theravada Buddhism did not lend support to a society ruled by an opulent royal establishment maintained through the virtual enslavement of the masses.

The death of Jayavarman VII resulted in yet another dynastic struggle, resulting in the decline of power in the state. The Thai states to the west became increasingly powerful and attacked Kambuja. By the end of the thirteenth century Kambuja had abandoned its adherence to Hinduism and adopted Theravada Buddhism. One view suggests that rulers and

their advisors at Angkor attributed the increasing power and success of the Thai states to the practice of Theravada Buddhism. Upon this relization, the rulers of Angkor established royal patronage of Theravada Buddhist schools. The general population was quick to accept a new religion that made few demands upon their resources. Introduction of Theravada Buddhism led to the end of massive temple building projects and the disappearance of the use of Sanskrit. Henceforth, *Pali* became the sacred language.

The Final Decline of Angkor

In the ninth century, the location of the Khmer capital ensured isolation from external threats. However, with the growing strength of the Thais to the west, Angkor was in an increasingly vulnerable position. From the middle of the fourteenth century onwards it was subjected to repeated attacks by the Thai states. Under pressure from the Thais, and on at least one occasion from the Cham, it was difficult to maintain the intricate water use system which was essential for Angkor's survival. Maintenance of the canals and reservoirs was weakened by damage to the hydraulic system as a result of repeated attacks. In addition, squabbles between members of the ruling family further weakened the state. After the abandonment of Angkor in 1444, the Khmer court moved south to a site near modern Phnom Penh. From that time this area would remain the center of the kingdom.

Comprehension Check 3.2

Fill in the blanks

1. Suryavarman II's greatest achievement was the construction of the temple complex of _____.
2. Kambuja's power was at its peak under reign of _____.
3. By the end of the thirteenth century, Kambuja had abandoned _____and embraced_____ _____.
4. Angkor was subjected to repeated attacks from the _____ states from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards.

The Struggle for Survival (1432-1887)

Over the next 450 years, Cambodia went through a period of increasing economic, social, and cultural stagnation when the kingdom's internal affairs came under the influence of its neighbors Thailand and Vietnam. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Cambodia had become a pawn between Thailand and Vietnam, and was in serious danger of being completely absorbed by one or the other.

The process of foreign assumption of control of Cambodia was gradual rather than abrupt. By the time of the abandonment of Angkor, temple building activities had to come to an end. Theravada Buddhism had replaced both Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism as the dominant religion of the state. There was intermittent warfare between the Khmer and the Thai kingdoms to the east. Except during the reign of King Ang Chan (1516-66), Cambodia was weaker than her aggressors.

Ang Chan, one of the few great Khmer monarchs in the post Angkorian period, moved the capital from Phnom Penh to Lovek on the banks of the Tonle Sap. In the post Angkorian era, a new kind of society and government emerged. This society was more dependent on trade and commerce as a source of wealth than preceding kingdoms had been. China was Cambodia's most important trading partner from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Maritime trade contributed to the prosperity of the elite who controlled royal trading monopolies.

The Arrival of the Europeans

Portuguese and Spanish travelers were the first Europeans to visit Cambodia. Sixteenth century accounts by European visitors describe Lovek as a city of fabulous wealth. Products traded included precious stones, metals, silk, cotton, lacquer, incense, ivory, livestock, and rhinoceros horn. By the late sixteenth century, trading communities made up of Chinese, Indonesians, Malays, Japanese, Arabs, Spanish, and Portuguese flourished in Lovek. Dutch and British communities followed later.

Peace in Cambodia in the late sixteenth century was fragile. Observing that the neighboring Philippines had been under Spanish rule since the early part of the sixteenth century, and now threatened by the Thais, the Cambodia ruler, King Sattha (1576-1594), asked the governor of the Philippines for assistance. Attracted by the prospects of establishing a Spanish protectorate in Cambodia, and converting the monarch to Christianity, the Spanish governor of the Philippines sent a force of 120 Spanish mercenaries to Cambodia. They reached the capital in 1596 but it was too late. Lovek had fallen to the Thai army in 1594 and was in complete disarray. The Spaniards were ultimately killed by a contingent of Malay mercenaries in 1598. This was the end of European involvement in the country for the next two hundred and fifty years as Cambodia continued to come under Thai and Vietnamese control.

Discussion Point 3.2

What are the reasons that so many foreign powers were interested in asserting control over Lovek in the last decade of the sixteenth century?

Thailand and Vietnam

The fall of Lovek to the Thais in 1594 marked a decline in Cambodian culture greater than the fall of Angkor a hundred fifty years before. Thousands of skilled artisans, scholars, peasants, and members of the Buddhist clergy were forcibly marched from Cambodia to the Thai capital of Ayudhya. This greatly diminished Cambodia's human resources and prevented the state from maintaining any semblance of its greatness. A new Cambodian capital was established at Udong and the state maintained its existence as a vassal of the Thai state.

From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, the Vietnamese expanded their area of influence. The Champa Kingdom in present day central Vietnam was defeated by the Vietnamese in the fifteenth century. This resulted in a large *exodus* of Chams into Khmer territory. By the early seventeenth century Vietnamese control extended into the Mekong

Delta which was inhabited by Khmers. As a result, Cambodia's traditional route to the sea was blocked and foreign trade was possible only with the permission of the Vietnamese. Limitations on sea trade further aggrivated the economic problems of the Cambodian state.

The early nineteenth century saw a renewed struggle for the control of Cambodia between Thailand and Vietnam. At this time Vietnamese officials ruled the central parts of Cambodia through a puppet king. Several rebellions broke out as the Vietnamese tried to force Cambodians to adopt Vietnamese customs. After the most important of these rebellions in 1841, Cambodia reached an accord with its two neighbors and recognized the joint suzerainty of Thailand and Vietnam. In 1848, a new monarch, Ang Duong, ascended the throne through an agreement by both countries. His rule only lasted for a decade and was one of relative peace and independence for the country.

The Thais and Vietnamese seemed virtually indistinguishable in their harsh treatment of the Cambodians, but there were fundamental differences in the way they viewed the Cambodians. The Thais shared a common religion, mythology, literature, and culture with the Cambodians, therefore, after conquering parts of Cambodia they did not attempt to change the people's way of life or values. In contrast, the Vietnamese wanted the Cambodians to change and accept Vietnamese culture. The Vietnamese also regarded Cambodian territory as a legitimate region for resettlement of people from Vietnam.

GLOSSARY

1. *apogee*

The highest point.

2. *bureaucracy*

A system of administering large organizations involving structure, authority, and a clear set of regulations.

3. *consecrate*

To make or declare a person or thing sacred through religious rites.

4. *dike*

A long artificial barrier commonly made of earth built to prevent flooding from high waters of a river or other body of water.

5. *edifice*

A building or a large structure built of stone or bricks.

6. *exodus*

Mass departure.

7. *Pali*

An Indian language that is thought to have originated between the third and first centuries B.C. Several Buddhist scriptures were written in Pali.

8. *symbolism*

Artistic imitation or invention that is a method of revealing otherwise intangible thoughts.

Student Activity 1
True or False

____1. The Angkorian period is known as the golden age of Khmer civilization.
____2. The Sailendra rulers of Java were strong in the eighth century A.D.
____3. Kambuja was originally the name of a Javanese state.
____4. Jayavarman II was a practicing Buddhist.
____5. In the ninth century A.D. Khmer art and sculpture was influenced by the traditions of Champa and Java.
____6. Yasovarman I built his capital at Indrapura.
____7. The Eastern Baray was constructed during the reign of Yasovarman I.
____8. The Khmer kings exercised absolute power during their reign of Yasovarman I.
____9. Most of the time Khmer rulers looked after the welfare of their subjects.
____10. Suryavarman's domestic and foreign policies severely reduced the power of the state by the time of his death in 1150 A.D.
____11. Jayavarman VII was a patron of Theravada Buddhism.
____12. Theravada Buddhism did not stress temple building on a massive scale.
____13. It was a common practice in Southeast Asia for the victors to force artists and other skilled persons of the defeated kingdoms to resettle into the victor's kingdom.
____14. Cambodia enjoyed no period of peace between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries.
____15. Lovek fell to the Vietnamese in 1594.
____16. The Mekong Delta had been a part of Cambodian territory before the seventeenth century.
____17. Vietnamese settlers shared a common cultural heritage and life values with the Khmers.
____18. Both the Vietnamese and the Thais mistreated the Khmers.
____19. The Philippines was under Spanish control by the late sixteenth century.
____20. Ang Duong's reign was marked by peace and relative independence for Cambodia.

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice

1. The Angkorian period lasted from:

   a. early tenth century to early fourteenth century
   b. early twelfth century to early seventeenth century
   c. early ninth century to early fifteenth century
   d. none of the above

2. During the early 9th century to the early 15th century Cambodia was known by the name:

   a. Cambodge
   b. Champa
   c. Kambuja
   d. Kampong Cham

3. The reasons why Jayavarman II established his capital cities to the north was:

   a. safety from external attack
   b. proximity to prime agricultural land
   c. both a and b
   d. none of the above

4. Indravarman's greatest achievement was:

   a. building of the temple mountains of Bakong and Preah Do
   b. extension of Cambodian rule to the Khorat Plateau in Thailand
   c. construction of a vast irrigation system that assured the cultivation of rice
   d. consolidation of a centralized state structure that lasted for two hundred years

5. The key to Kambuja's prosperity for many years was:

   a. a centralized state that enabled development plans to be implemented
   b. extensive trade with distant regions of the world
   c. the elaborate irrigation system that assured an adequate supply of rice at all times
   d. its ability to derive benefits by extending its realm of influence

6. Not much is known about Cambodia in the tenth century A.D. because of:

   a. continuous strife in Cambodia
   b. Cambodia's self-imposed isolation
   c. interruption of visits by Chinese travelers who had provided much information
   c. none of the above

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice (cont.)

7. During the Angkorian period, the influence of the bureaucracy was most significant:

   a. in regions surrounding the capital
   b. among the rulers
   c. during the religious ceremonies
   d. in regions distant from the capital

8. The ruler who had the most building construction projects was:

   a. Indravarman I
   b. Suryavarman II
   c. Jayavarman VII
   d. none of the above

9. The following is the chronological sequence of religious patronized by Khmer monarchs:

   a. Hinduism, Mahayana Buddhism, and Islam
   b. Hinduism, Mahayana Buddhism, and Theravada Buddhism
   c. Hinduism, Theravada Buddhism, and Mahayana Buddhism
   d. none of the above

10. Adoption of Theravada Buddhism led to:
   a. cessation of temple building on a large scale
   b. adoption of Pali as the sacred language
   c. disappearance of the use of Sanskrit
   d. all of the above

11. Which of the following did not contribute to the final decline of Angkor:

   a. attacks by the Thais from the west
   b. the execution of scholars and craftsmen
   c. dissent in the ruling family
   c. none of the above

12. The process of foreign control of Cambodia was:

   a. controlled by the Europeans
   b. to enhance Cambodia's cultural accomplishments
   c gradual rather than abrupty
   d. marked by a complete end of all temple building activity

13. The post Angkorian society:

   a. was essentially isolated from the rest of Southeast Asia
   b. radically transformed the nature of Cambodia
   c. was more dependent on trade as a source of prosperity and wealth than its predecessor
   c. was a slave-owning society

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice (cont.)

14. The first Europeans who attempted to establish their rule in Cambodia were the:

a. Portuguese
b. Dutch
c. Spanish
d. British

15. The event marking the final decline of Cambodia was:

a. the fall of Angkor in 1444
b. the advent of Theravada Buddhism
c. the fall of Lovek in 1594
d. the appearance of Europeans in the sixteenth century

16. Cambodia's access to the sea for tradeing was cut off in the early 17th century due to:

a. a decline in shipbuilding activity
b. Thai restrictions imposed upon the state
c. occupation of the Mekong Delta areas by the Vietnamese
d. none of the above

17. The Thais did not:

a. treat the Khmer people harshly
b. occupy parts of Cambodia
c. want to fundamentally change the ways of the Khmer people
d. force thousands of skilled Khmer artisan into their country

18. The Vietnamese:

a. treated the Khmer people equitably
b. contributed to the development of a better hydraulic system in Cambodia
c. wanted to fundamentally change the ways and values of the Vietnamese people
d. universally liked Khmer culture

19. The word that best describes the state of Cambodia from the 15th to the 19th century is:

a. helpless
b. dominant
c. resurgent
d. complacent

Student Activity 3
Matching Columns

1.____Angkorian Period	a. thirteenth century
2.____*devaraja*	b. Ang Chan's capital
3.____Sailendra rulers	c. Bakong and Preah Ko
4.____Indravarman I	d. fall of Lovek
5.____Suryavarman II	e. center of the universe
6.____Jayavarman VII	f. Angkor Thom
7.____Mount Meru	g. Angkor Wat
8.____Theravada Buddhism	h. the Golden Age of Cambodia
9.____Lovek	i. god-king
10.___1594 A.D.	j. Java

Student Activity 4
General Questions

1. Why is the Angkorian period known as the "Golden Age" of Cambodia? Discuss the achievements of Cambodia during this period.

2. How did the construction of a vast irrigation system contribute to the greatness of Cambodia? Do you think temple building on a large scale would have been possible without the irrigation system?

3. Why was the control of the bureaucracy more effective in regions distant from the capital?

4. Who paid for the upkeep of the shrines founded by the high officials? Why was this system maintained for a few hundred years?

5. Discuss the evolution of Khmer art and sculpture through the centuries. What were some foreign influences on the arts?

6. Discuss the achievements of Suryavarman II and Jayavarman VII. Who in your opinion achieved more and why?

7. What did the temples of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom depict? What could have been the purpose of their construction?

8. Angkor was an ideal site for the Khmer capital in the ninth century due to certain reasons. How did the same reasons make it vulnerable in the fourteenth century A.D.?

Student Activity 4
General Questions (cont.)

9. The key to Cambodia's prosperity was its intricate hydraulic system. The state was unable to maintain its prosperity once the hydraulic system fell into disrepair. Discuss the factors leading to its decline and the consequences.

10. How did the adoption of Theravada Buddhism fundamentally after the expression in Kambuja? Why were the masses quick to adopt it?

11. Why did the fall of Lovek in 1594 contribute more to the decline of Cambodia than the abandonment of Angkor in 1444?

12. What were the differences between the Angkorian and post-Angkorian society?

13. What were the differences in the way the Thais and the Vietnamese viewed the Khmers?

14. We read in Chapter I that Khmer-Vietnamese relations have been clouded by mistrust and hostility. What underlying reasons could there be for those feelings to persist into the twentieth century?

15. In this chapter we saw that by the middle of the nineteenth century Cambodia had become a pawn between the Vietnamese and the Thais. Do you think that conditions were right for a foreign power (other than Thailand or Vietnam) to establish a protectorate there? Why would most of the ruling elite of the country have welcomed such a development?

Student Activity 5
Group Projects

1. The motivations for the construction of the great temples of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom are not completely known. Similarly there exist great structures in other parts of the world. Compare and contrast the construction of the following monuments and give the possible motivations for their construction:

a. Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom
b. The Great Wall of China
c. The Taj Mahal of India
d. The Pyramids of Egypt

2. In this chapter we saw the emergence of Kambuja, which reached the height of its powers between the tenth and twelfth centuries A.D. Compare and contrast this with the rise and fall of the following. Base your conclusions on how civilization rise and decline.

a. Mesopotamia
b. The Arabs
c. Egypt
d. The Mayas of Central America

3. The Vietnamese justified their expansion into Cambodia on the basis of the alleged mistreatment of Vietnamese settlers in Khmer lands. This, and other factors have led to strained relationship between the Vietnamese and the Khmers through the centuries. Analyze five conflicts anywhere in the world in the late twentieth century. Are the reasons for one country encroaching upon another similar to those of the Vietnamese in Cambodia? In what ways are they different? In what aspects are they the same?

ANSWER KEY

Student Activity 1
True or False

1. T	6. F	11. F	16. T
2. T	7. T	12. T	17. F
3. F	8. F	13. T	18. T
4. F	9. F	14. F	19. T
5. T	10. T	15. F	20. T

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice

1. C	6. C	11. D	16. C
2. C	7. D	12. C	17. C
3. C	8. C	13. C	18. C
4. C	9. B	14. C	19. A
5. C	10. D	15. C	

Student Activity 3
Matchign Columns

1. H	6. F
2. I	7. E
3. J	8. A
4. C	9. B
5. G	10. D

CHAPTER 4

The French Colonial Period

In the nineteenth century, the French took an interest in Indochina. Since Britain had effectively excluded France from expanding into India and other parts of Southeast Asia, Indochina was the one region not under European control. The French wanted to establish trade and commerce in the area in order to benefit from the wealth of untapped resources. French interest in the kingdom was stimulated by the exploits of the famous *naturalist*, Henri Mahout who, from 1859 to 1861, visited the Cambodian court, rediscovered the ruins of Angkor, and journeyed up the Mekong River to the Laotian Kingdom of Luang Prabang.

By this time Ang Duong had been succeeded by King Norodom (1859-1904). After the French had established dominion over Cochinchina, they forced Norodom to sign a protectorate treaty in 1863. As a protectorate of the French, the Cambodian kingdom gave France control over its foreign affairs. The French also gained rights to explore and exploit the kingdom's mineral and forestry resources.

The French Protectorate

In the early years, the French seldom intervened in the day to day affairs of the Cambodian state. Instead, the French concentrated on increasing their influence in the greater region under Thai control. King Norodom's reign, however, was constantly challenged by his half brothers and other insurrectionists. In 1867 the French concluded an agreement with the Thais which gave control of Battambang and Siem Reap provinces to the Thais. In exchange the Thais renounced all claims to other parts of Cambodian territory. The loss of the northwestern provinces upset King Norodom but he was unable to react as his rule was dependent on French patronage.

Norodom's principal contender to the throne was his half brother Prince Sisowath, who eagerly courted French support to overthrow Norodom. By the mid-1870's, French officials in Cambodia were pressing for greater control over the country's affairs at all levels

of the government. Norodom stubbornly resisted French pressure. Finally, in June 1884, the French governor of Cochinchina, who was also responsible for the French position in Cambodia, went to Phnom Penh and demanded approval of a new treaty with Paris. Mindful of a French gunboat anchored in the river, the king reluctantly signed the agreement.

The new treaty promised far-reaching changes such as the abolition of slavery, the institution of private land ownership, and the establishment of French residents in provincial cities. The local elite opposed the treaty's provisions, especially the one pertaining to slavery, and *fomented* rebellions throughout the country for the next two years. This threatened the French position in the country. The rebellions were finally put down after the French revised some provisions of the treaty.

The French however were determined to tighten their control over Cambodia. French control over the government increased as senior Cambodian officials saw their interests allied more with the French than the monarch.

Comprehension Check 4.1

Fill in the blanks

1. French interest in Indochina grew due to its rivalry with _____.
2. The _____ pressured Ang Duong to refuse to meet the French when they arrived at his court in 1856.
3. Ang Duong was succeeded by King _____.
4. The protectorate treaty was signed in the year _____.
5. Norodom's principal contender to the throne was _____.

Discussion Point 4.1

What is meant by the term "gunboat diplomacy"? Can you think of another instance when gunboat diplomacy was used in the past?

After bringing most of Indochina under their control, the French proclaimed the "Union Indochinese" in October 1887. This Union was comprised of Cambodia and Vietnam. Laos was added to the region in 1893. In 1897 the incumbent resident general of Cambodia received permission from Paris to assume the king's authority to issue decrees, collect taxes, and appoint royal officials. The colonial bureaucracy expanded, with French nationals holding the highest government positions. Even lower level government jobs were seldom given to Cambodians as the French preferred to hire Vietnamese.

King Norodom died in 1904 and his half brother Sisowath (1904-1927) was appointed to the throne. The French had reduced King Norodom and his successors to mere figureheads. Although the French gained political power, they assured the survival of the Cambodian state. By maintaining the king in splendor, they greatly enhanced his position in the kingdom. As we will see in later chapters, this fact was to be of considerable importance in the development of the state to the present time.

Sisowath was set on the throne over Norodom's sons because the French considered his side of the royal family to be more cooperative than Norodom's. Norodom's family was viewed as responsible for the revolts of the 1880s against the French, especially his son, Prince Yukanthor, who had stirred up publicity abroad about French colonial injustices. One of the highlights of Sisowath's reign was the French success in persuading the Thai king to sign a new treaty in 1907 returning the northwestern provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap to Cambodia. Sisowath was later succeeded by his son Monivong (1927-41).

The Colonial Economy

After establishing protectorate status over Cambodia in 1863, the French realized that the hidden wealth of the country was an illusion. Since there were no significant resources that could be exploited quickly, they concentrated on collecting taxes more efficiently and did not try to change Cambodia's village-based economy. By the early twentieth century Cambodians paid the highest per-capita taxes in Indochina. In 1916, a nonviolent protest brought tens of thousands of peasants into Phnom Penh to petition the king for a reduction in

taxes. This incident shocked the French who had underestimated the ability of the peasantry to organize a mass protest. A substitute for paying taxes was *corvee labor*. By this method, instead of paying taxes, a person worked for up to ninety days a year on public works projects liked the construction of roads and embankments.

Along with taxes, *usury*, granting loans at outrageous rates of interest, was the chief burden on the peasants. Although most landholdings were small, poor and middle class peasants were affected by usury that sometimes had interest rates as high as 100 to 200 percent. *Foreclosure* on their landholdings reduced these peasants to the status of sharecroppers and landless laborers. Although debt slavery and feudal landholding patterns had been abolished by the French, the old members of the elite class still controlled the countryside.

To develop the country's economic *infrastructure*, the French built a limited network of roads, and a railroad from Phnom Penh through Battambang to the Thai border. The cultivation of rubber, rice, and corn was encouraged in the provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap, which became the rice baskets of Indochina. The 1920s brought prosperity through the export of rice, rubber, and corn but the world depression of 1929 caused great hardships to the peasants who became victims of moneylenders.

Industry had been designed primarily to process raw materials such as rubber for local consumption or export. To make matters worse for the Cambodians there was considerable immigration from the neighboring countries, and foreigners dominated the developed sectors of the economy. Many Vietnamese came to Cambodia to serve as laborers in the rubber plantations and as clerical workers in the government. As their numbers increased, the Vietnamese immigrants began to play important roles in the economy, for example, working as fishermen and as operators of small businesses. The Chinese had been in Cambodia several centuries before the French and they had long dominated commerce there. This arrangement continued under the French. Chinese merchants and bankers in

Cambodia developed commercial networks that extended throughout Indochina as well as to other parts of Southeast Asia and mainland China.

Discussion Point 4.2

Poor and middle class peasants faced great odds in Cambodia and in all probability, had a strong chance of losing their lands. What measures can a government take to put an end to usurious practices by moneylenders?

The Emergence of Nationalism

In contrast to neighboring Vietnam, Cambodia was relatively subdued in terms of political activism during the first four decades of the twentieth century. The carefully maintained facade of royal rule contributed to this lack of activism. The Khmer people, for the most part, maintained their faith in the monarchy. Low literacy rates, which the French worked to maintain, also prevented a large majority of the population from learing of the nationalist currents that were sweeping other parts of Southeast Asia.

Nationalism first emerged among the handful of educated Khmers who were a part of the urban-based *elite*. Many of the educated elite class were Vietnamese and were products of the limited educational system instituted by the French. Resentment of favored treatment given to Vietnamese students resulted in a petition being presented to King Monivong by Cambodians in the 1930s. Perhaps the most valuable legacy of French rule in Cambodia was the restoration of Angkor, which awakened the Cambodian people's pride in their culture and past achievements.

Among the most articulate early nationalists were members of the Khmer Krom who were of the Cambodian minority who lived in Cochinchina. Publication of the first Khmer language newspaper, *Nagarvatta* (Angkor Wat) started in 1936. One of its publishers was Son Ngoc Thanh, a Khmer Krom. In its editorials, the paper made mild statements against

French colonial policies, the prevalence of usury in the rural areas, foreign domination of the economy, and the lack of opportunities for educated Cambodians. The paper's editorials were directed against the Vietnamese for their past exploitation of Cambodia and for their contemporary monopolization of the civil service and professional positions.

Cambodia During the Second World War

Cambodia was fortunate to be spared from the ravages of the second world war. The Japanese entered Cambodia in 1941, but allowed the French to continue to administer the country. Thailand, which was pro-Japanese during the war, was again interested in assuming control of the northwestern provinces of Siem Reap and Battambang. A military encounter between Thailand and the French proved indecisive. At this point, Tokyo intervened and compelled the French authorities to agree to a treaty ceding Battambang and a part of Siem Reap to Thailand in exchange for a small compensation. This event had a minimal impact on the lives of Cambodians living outside the northwestern region.

Upon the death of King Monivong in 1941, the French chose the great grandson of King Norodom, Norodom Sihanouk, as the new monarch of Cambodia. Only nineteen at the time, the French considered Sihanouk an ideal candidate because of his youth and lack of experience.

Cambodian *nationalists* intensified their demands with the hopes that the Japanese would back them up. When Hem Chieu, a prominent politically active Buddhist monk, was arrested by the French authorities in 1942, the editors of *Nagarvatta* led a demonstration demanding his release. The colonial authorities arrested the demonstrators and sentenced one of the editors of Nagarvatta to life imprisonment. Son Ngoc Thanh, the other editor, escaped from Phnom Penh and went to Tokyo.

In the final months of World War II on March 9, 1945, the Japanese dissolved the French colonial administration and urged Cambodia to declare its independence. King Sihanouk soon declared an independent Cambodia. Son Ngoc Thanh returned from Tokyo three months later and was appointed foreign minister. At the end of the war, however,

France, was anxious to regain its former position in the country . With allied forces reoccupying Phnom Penh in October 1945, the French made every attempt to take back their former colony. Thanh was arrested for collaboration with the Japanese and sent into exile in France to remain under *house arrest.* Some of his supporters fled to northwestern Cambodia, then still under Thai control, where they joined the Khmer Issarak. Khmer Issarak (Free Khmer), an anti-French nationalist movement comprised of members from a variety of political backgrounds was organized with the support of the Thais in 1945.

Comprehension Check 4.2

Fill in the blanks

1. _____ nationals held the highest positions in the colonial bureaucracy.
2. By the early twentieth, Cambodians paid the _____ per capita taxes in Indochina.
3. Poor and middle class peasants had to pay interest rates of _____ to _____ percent in Cambodia.
4. _____ dominated the developed sectors of Cambodian economy in the early twentieth century.
5. The Khmer Issarak was comprised of members from _____ political backgrounds.

The Struggle for Independence

At the end of the second world war the French were determined to reassert their control over all of Indochina. They offered Cambodia and the other Indochinese protectorates a carefully *circumscribed* measure of self-government. They envisioned the participation of Indochina in a French Union of former colonies that shared the common experience of French culture. Neither Cambodia's urban elite nor the common people were attracted by this arrangement.

During the post war years Sihanouk was in a delicate position as he tried to negotiate for independence with the French, while trying to neutralize the influence of the Khmer Issarak and the Viet Minh who considered him a French lackey. In 1946 the French allowed

the Cambodian to form political parties and to hold elections for a Consultative Assembly that would advise the monarch on drafting the country's constitution. The two major parties were both headed by royal princes. The Democratic Party espoused immediate independence, democratic reforms, and parliamentary government. Its supporter were teachers, civil servants, politically active members of the Buddhist priesthood, and others whose opinions had been greatly influenced by the appeals of *Nagarvatta* before the French closed it down in 1942. The Liberal Party represented the interests of the old rural elite, mainly the large landowners. They preferred continuing some form of the colonial relationship with France and advocated a gradual democratic reform. Elections for the Consultative Assembly were held in September 1946 and the Democrats won fifty of the sixty seven seats.

The constitution drafted by the assembly was based on the French Fourth Republic. Power was concentrated in the hands of the popularly elected National Assembly. While it still recognized the king as a spiritual leader of the state, it reduced him to the status of a *constitutional monarch*, or in other words, a symbolic head of the state. In the elections for the National Assembly held in December 1947, the Democrats again won a large majority. However, within a year dissension within the party had eroded its effectiveness in implementing the constitution. The only thing the Democrats seemed to agree on was opposition to the king.

Sihanouk entertained the idea of an independent state within the French Union and carried out his own negotiations with the French over this issue. In 1949, after dissolving the National Assembly, Sihanouk signed the draft treaty offered by the French. The treaty granted Cambodia what Sihanouk called "fifty percent independence". Cambodians were given control of most of the administrative functions. The Cambodian armed forces were granted freedom of action within a self-governing autonomous zone comprised of the provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap, which had been recovered from Thailand after World War II, but which the French did not have the resources to control. France retained a

significant measure of control over foreign affairs, the judicial system, finances, and customs. France was also permitted to retain military bases within Cambodia. In 1950 Cambodia was accorded military recognition by the United States and most of its allies, but in Asia, only Thailand and South Korea extended this recognition.

The Democrats won a majority of seats in the second National Assembly election in September 1951, and continued opposing the king on all fronts. Sihanouk, in an effort to win greater popular approval, asked the French to release the nationalist Son Ngoc Thanh and allow him to return from exile. Son Ngoc Thanh made a triumphant entry in Phnom Penh on October 29, 1951. Soon after his arrival he demanded the removal of French troops from Cambodia. He made his demands in the weekly newspaper *Khmer Krok* (Khmer Awake) that he had founded. Son Ngoc Thanh's strident demands forced Sihanouk's administration to close down his newspaper. He then fled to the countryside with a few armed followers to join the Khmer Issarak and remained in exile until 1970.

Faced with a parliament and government increasingly critical of his rule, Sihanouk dismissed the cabinet in June 1952, suspended the constitution, and took control of the government as Prime Minister. Seven months later he dissolved the National Assembly and proclaimed Martial Law. Conditions in Cambodia were such that if Sihanouk did move for independence people were likely to turn to the Khmer Issarak and Son Ngoc Thanh who were completely committed to that goal.

In March 1953 Sihanouk went to France, ostensibly for reasons of health but actually to mount an intensive campaign to persuade the French to grant independence to Cambodia. The French did not agree with Sihanouk and threatened to replace him if he persisted with his demands. He returned home by way of the United States, Canada, and Japan where he publicized the plight of Cambodia.

With an eye on the current situation in Cambodia, Sihanouk embarked on a self-imposed exile to Thailand, declaring that he would not return unless total independence was granted to the country. Unwelcome in Bangkok, he moved his royal residence to a place

near the ruins of Angkor in Siem Reap province. Siem Reap was one of the two autonomous provinces under the control of the Cambodian military. Sihanouk found a willing ally in Lt. Col. Lon Nol, the military commander of Siem Reap Since the French were unwilling to meet their demands, they decided to work together to chart a course of action .

Fortunately for Sihanouk, the military position of the French in Indochina had deteriorated so badly that on July 3, 1953, France declared itself ready to grant independence to the three states of Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. The police and the judiciary were transferred to Cambodian control at the end of August and in October, the country assumed full control of its military forces. King Sihanouk, now a hero in the eyes of the people, returned to Phnom Penh in triumph and independence day was celebrated on November 9, 1953.

GLOSSARY

1. *constitutional monarch*

A monarch who is only nominally the head of state with duties that are largely ceremonial and symbolic. In modern constitutional monarchies, executive power is usually exercised by the prime minister and the cabinet.

2. *decree*

An order set forth by one having authority.

3. *dominion*

A nation having a subsidiary relationship to another country; a self-governing nation under another.

4. *elite*

A powerful and prestigious group of people.

5. *foreclosure*

A legal proceeding that prevents the owner of mortgaged property from reclaiming it when he/she cannot pay off the debt owed on it.

6. *house arrest*

Confinement, often under guard, to one's house or a hospital instead of in a prison.

7. *infrastructure*

The basic framework or the underlying foundation.

8. *nationalist*

Nationalism is people's sense of belonging together as a nation. It includes such feelings as loyalty to the nation, pride in its culture and history, and in many cases, a desire for national independence. A nationalist is a person who believes in the values of nationalism.

9. *naturalist*

A student of nature. Naturalists usually record their observations and have made many important contributions.

10. *precapitalist*

Something characterized by independent, individual production.

GLOSSARY (cont.)

11. *usury*

The charging of interest at higher rates than allowed by the law. The person or institution charging more than the maximum legal rate is the usurer.

12. *Viet Minh*

A coalition of nationalist elements dominated by the communists and led by the Vietnamese revolutionary Ho Chi Minh. Originally, the Viet Minh was formed to oppose the French administration in Vietnam.

Student Activity 1
True or False

____1. Ang Duong wanted to reduce the influence of the neighboring Thais and Vietnamese kingdoms over his country.

____2. Ang Duong was anxious for the establishment of a French protectorate in Cambodia.

____3. Henri Mahout journeyed up the Mekong to re-discover Angkor Wat.

____4. King Norodom was not unduly concerned at the loss of Battambang and Siem Reap as these provinces had proved difficult to govern.

____5. The French intervened little in the day to day affairs of Cambodia in the early years of the protectorate.

____6. The new protectorate treaty of 1884 was concluded in a friendly manner.

____7. French nationals held the highest positions in the colonial bureaucracy of Cambodia.

____8. The French appointed Sisowath as the king because they considered him a more capable ruler.

____9. During the colonial period no major attempts were made to transform Cambodia's village based economy.

____10. Political activity in Cambodia peaked during the early years of the 20th century.

____11. *Nagarvatta* was the first Khmer language newspaper of the twentieth century.

____12. The French were eager to improve Cambodia's low literacy rates.

____13. The Japanese administered Cambodia briefly during the Second World War.

____14. The French were reluctant to assume control of Cambodia at the end of the Second World War.

____15. Khmer Issarak was a pro-French movement.

____16. The French felt that their former colonies shared a common experience of French culture and values.

____17. The Democratic Party represented interests of the old rural elite whereas the Liberal Party represented the interests of the nationalist.

____18. Elections for the Consultative Assembly in 1946 were won by the Democratic Party.

____19. King Sihanouk was reduced to a mere figurehead after 1949.

____20. Martial Law was proclaimed by Sihanouk in January 1953.

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice

1. Cochinchina is comprised of:

   a. Battambang
   b. Siem Reap
   c. Mekong Delta
   d. the regions surrounding the Tonle Sap

2. Henri Mahout, the famous naturalist:

   a. rediscovered the ruins of Angkor Wat
   b. journeyed up the Mekong River
   c. visited the Laotian kingdom of Luang Prabang
   d. all of the above

3. Representatives from which countries officiated at King Norodom's coronation in 1864:

   a. France and Thailand
   b. France and Vietnam
   c. Thailand and Vietnam
   d. none of the above

4. King Norodom could not do anything about the French decision to cede Battambang and Siem Reap to Thailand because:

   a. he was paid a large sum of money by the French
   b. he did not want the two provinces in his kingdom anyway.
   c. he was dependent upon the French for his rule
   d. none of the above

5. The "Union Indochinese" proposed in 1887 was comprised of:

   a. Cambodia and Vietnam
   b. Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos
   c. Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, and France
   d. France, Cambodia, and Vietnam

6. During the French colonial period, successive rulers of Cambodia:

   a. carried out an independent policy from Phnom Penh
   b. were reduced to the status of mere figureheads carrying out French policy
   c. tried to create rebellions against the French
   d. repeatedly protested to the French about the heavy tax burden on peasants

7. Along with taxes, the chief burden on the peasants was:

   a. corvee labor
   b. usury
   c. foreclosure
   d. floods

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice (cont.)

8. Cambodian industry was designed primarily to:

a. create more jobs for Cambodians
b. open up the country for more French investment
c. process raw materials for local use or export
d. none of the above

9. Precolonial commerce in Cambodia was dominated by the:

a. Chinese
b. Cambodians
c. Vietnamese
d. Thais

10. Cambodia was relatively quiet politically during the early decades of the twentieth century. The factors contributing to this were:

a. low population density
b. poor communications network
c. low literacy rates and a carefully maintained charade of royal rule
d. the heavy tax burden

11. In the twentieth century, national consciousness emerged among:

a. members of the urban landowning classes
b. the peasants
c. the handful of the urban educated elite
d. none of the above

12. The expression Khmer Krom means:

a. a Cambodian who has lived abroad for a long time
b. members of the Cambodian minority living in Cochinchina
c. members of the Cambodian minority living in Thailand
d. Cambodian nationalists

13. The French chose Norodom Sihanouk as the new monarch in 1941 because of:

a. his admiration of the French
b. the tremendous goodwill he enjoyed among the masses
c. his youth, lack of experience, and pliability
d. his educational background

14. Khmer Issarak:

a. was a communist organization supported by Vietnam
b. was a communist organization having Thai backing
c. was a pro-French nationalist organization having members of all political beliefs
d. none of the above

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice (cont.)

15. The parties formed in the 1946 elections for the Consultative Assembly were:

a. the Democratic Party and the Republican Party
b. the Democratic Party and the Liberal Democratic Party
c. the Democratic Party and the Liberal Party
d. the Liberal Party and the Republican Party

16. Which of the following groups of people did not generally support the Democratic Party:

a. teachers
b. civil servants
c. politically active Buddhist monks
d. large landowners

17. The Democrats were unable to govern effectively after the 1947 elections due to :
a. French interference
b. dissent within the party
c. their opposition to the king
d. the power of the rural elite

18. The draft treaty of 1950:

a. radically transformed Cambodia
b. granted limited independence to Cambodia
c. made Sihanouk an absolute ruler
d. none of the above

19. Sihanouk went to France in 1953:

a. to argue for independence
b. for reasons of health
c. to refine the draft treaty of 1950
d. to discuss the condition of martial law in Cambodia

20. Lt. Col. Lon Nol was the military commander of:

a. Siem Reap
b. Battambang
c. Cochinchina
d. Laos

Student Activity 3
Matching Columns

1.____ Cochinchina	a. first Khmer language newspaper
2.____ Henri Mahout	b. military commander of Siem Reap
3.____ Luang Prabang	c. a substitute for paying taxes
4.____ Sisowath	d. Prominent, politically active Buddhist monk
5.____ Cambodia, Laos Vietnam	e. Norodom's principal contender
6.____ corvee labor	f. won the 1946 Consultative Assembly elections
7.____ the Chinese	g. weekly newspaper founded by Son Ngoc Thanh
8.____ Khmer Krom	h. Mekong Delta
9.____ *Nagarvatta*	i. Union Indochinese
10.____ Hem Chieu	j. Laos
11____ Khmer Issarak	k. dominated precolonial commerce
12.____ *Nagarvatta*	l. anti-French movement supported by Thai
13.____ the Draft Treaty of 1950	m. Cambodian minority who lived in Cochinchina
14.____ Khmer Krok	n. offered Cambodia "fifty percent independence"
15.____ Lt. Col. Lon Nol	o. Naturalist

Student Activity 4
General Questions

1. What were the factors leading to the growth of French interest in Indochina in the nineteenth century? How did the French establish their presence in the region?

2. Describe the protectorate treaty of 1864.

3. How did the French go about tightening their hold on the government in Cambodia in the early years of the protectorate?

4. What was the status of Cambodian rulers under the colonial administration?

5. During the colonial period, the French often appointed the new Cambodian monarch upon the death of the reigning monarch. What was the criteria used for the selection of the new monarch?

6. Why didn't the French try to transform Cambodia's village based economy?

7. What was corvee labor?

8. How did the old elite class control the Cambodian countryside in the late nineteenth century?

9. Describe the development of Cambodian agriculture and industry in the early twentieth century.

10. What were the factors contributing to the slow emergence of nationalism in Cambodia?

11. What was the most valuable legacy of French rule in Cambodia?

Student Activity 4
General Questions (cont.)

12. What was the main reason for the resentment of Vietnamese immigrants in Cambodia in the twentieth century?

13. What was the measure of self-government offered to Cambodia by the French at the end of the Second World War? Why wasn't it acceptable to the people?

14. Describe the composition and the objectives of the Democratic and Liberal Parties formed in Cambodia after the Second World War.

15. The constitution drafted by the Consultative Assembly reduced Sihanouk to the status of a "constitutional monarch". Why was Sihanouk able to exercise such a high degree of control over the government in the succeeding years?

16. Describe the provisions of the draft treaty signed by Sihanouk in 1949.

17. What countries accorded recognition to the Cambodian government in 1950 after the signing of the draft treaty? Why did only two countries in Asia extend recognition to the Cambodian government at that time?

18. What was Son Ngoc Thanh's main demand after returning from exile in 1951? Why do you think Sihanouk's administration closed down his newspaper?

19. Why did Sihanouk take control of the government in June 1952?

20. Why did France declare itself ready to offer independence to Cambodia in 1953?

Student Activity 5
Group Projects

1. Throughout the nineteenth and the twentieth century the provinces of Siem Reap and Battambang were alternately under the control of Cambodia and Thailand. Trace the process of control of the two provinces by the two countries.

Also, describe the circumstances under which one country was able to wrest control of the two provinces from the other.

Why were these provinces important to both countries?

2. Describe the role of King Sihanouk in the government of Cambodia from 1941 to 1953.

How was he able to gauge the prevailing political mood in the country and chart a course of action that ensured his survival?

3. Give a biographical sketch of Son Ngoc Thanh.

Describe his contributions to the Cambodian nationalist movement.

Sihanouk and Son Ngoc Thanh both wanted independence for Cambodia, yet their ideology was different. Discuss their differences and similarities.

4. Sihanouk went to France in 1953 to argue for Cambodia's independence. The French, however, wanted to maintain control over Cambodia. Discuss the situation from the perspective of Sihanouk and the French, given their objectives and the constraints faced by them.

Could the French have carried out their threat to replace Sihanouk? Explain your answer.

ANSWER KEY

Student Activity 1
True or False

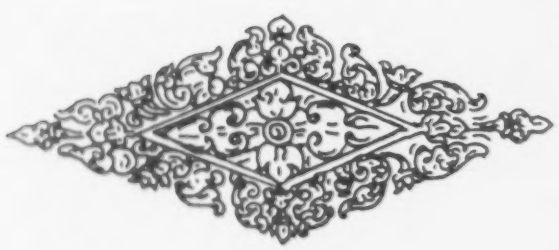
1. T	6. F	11. T	16. T
2. F	7. T	12. F	17. F
3. T	8. F	13. F	18. T
4. F	9. T	14. F	19. F
5. T	10. F	15. F	20. T

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice

1. C	6. B	11. C	16. D
2. D	7. B	12. B	17. B
3. C	8. C	13. C	18. B
4. C	9. A	14. D	19. A
5. A	10. C	15. C	20. A

Student Activity 3
Matching Columns

1. H	6. C	11. L
2. O	7. K	12. F
3. J	8. M	13. N
4. E	9. A	14. G
5. I	10. D	15. B



CHAPTER 5

Independence Under Sihanouk (1953-1970)

Sihanouk is one of the most controversial figures in Southeast Asia's turbulent, and often tragic history. Some view him as one of Cambodia's greatest leaders whose insistence on strict neutrality kept Cambodia out of war in neighboring Vietnam. Others attack him for his vanity, eccentricity, and intolerance to dissent. His critics describe the Sihanouk years as riddled with unbridled greed and corruption inspired by a foreign policy which was motivated by opportunism rather than a desire to preserve national independence. Sihanouk's rule also saw the disintegration of the economy and the disintegration of the political system.

Sihanouk believed that he had single-handedly restored Cambodia's independence from the French. He also believed he had the right to run the country in the fashion of the ancient Khmer kings, that is, as an extension of his household. Unlike the ancient god-kings, however, he established genuine rapport with the people of his country. Sihanouk made frequent, often impromptu, visits through isolated areas to chat with villagers, received petitions, passed out gifts, and scolded officials for mismanagement.

The Geneva Conference

Although Cambodia had achieved independence in late 1953, the military situation in the country remained unstable. As previously noted, the Khmer Issarak members were from various political backgrounds. Their noncommunist factions joined the government of Cambodia at the time the *communist* Viet Minh were intensifying their struggle for control over the territory.

The Geneva Conference, organized to address Indochina's independence and peace in the area, was attended by representatives of Cambodia, North Vietnam, the Associated States of Vietnam (predecessor of South Vietnam), Laos, the People's Republic of China, Russia,

France, Britain, and the United States. In the final agreement at the conference, Cambodia accepted a neutral status for itself by pledging not to join any military alliance, or to allow the establishment of foreign military bases on its territory. A schedule was set up for the withdrawal of French and Viet Minh forces from Cambodia which took place in October 1954.

The Geneva Agreement also stipulated that general elections be held in Cambodia during 1955. Sihanouk was determined to defeat the Democrats who, on the basis of their past record, were expected to win the election. He attempted unsuccessfully to have the constitution amended. On March 2, 1955, Sihanouk abdicated in favor of his father Norodom Suramarit. Assuming the title of *samdech* (prince), Sihanouk explained that his abdication was necessary in order to give him more autonomy to engage in politics.

As Prince Sihanouk he still maintained control of the government and wielded more power than his parents. He established a new national political organization called the *Sangkum Reastr Niym* (Popular Socialist Community), and traveled throughout the country seeking support from the Cambodian people. The *Sangkum's* emergence in 1955 unified most of the anti-communist groups in the country under Prince Sihanouk's guidance. During this period he gained enormous popularity. In the September elections, Prince Sihanouk's new party soundly defeated the Democrats, the Khmer Independence Party of Son Ngoc Thanh, and the *leftist* Pracheachon Party by winning every seat in the National Assembly.

Nationalism, loyalty to the monarch, struggle against injustice and corruption, and protection of the Buddhist religion were the major doctrines of *Sangkum ideology*. The *Sangkum* party adopted the Buddhist interpretation that social inequalities are legitimate because of the workings of *karma*. It was the belief that for the poorer classes, virtuous and obedient conduct opened up the possibility of being born into a higher position in the next life. This appeal to religion won the allegiance of the country's many Buddhist priests who were a highly influential group among rural villagers.

Comprehension Check 5.1

Fill in the blanks

1. The _____ factions of the Khmer Issarak joined the government of Cambodia after independence in 1953.
2. Sihanouk was _____ in his attempts to have the constitution amended in 1955.
3. The new party that emerged in 1955 was called _____.
4. The _____ were a particularly influential group among the rural villagers.

Government Organization

The supreme head of the state at this time was the king. His powers were similar to those of other constitutional monarchs: for example, signing of new laws and treaties, appointment of the prime minister, and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The king was assisted in his duties by the Crown Council which was made up of influential people, including the President of the High Court, President of the National Assembly, and leaders of the Buddhist sects. The king was also advised by the Royal Family Council, which included all the male members of the king's immediate family.

The legislature was made up of two houses, the Council of the Kingdom (upper house) and the National Assembly (lower house). The Council of the Kingdom was limited to elder statesmen, most of whom were appointed rather than elected. Though the council had no legislative powers, its advice on legislation under consideration was very important. The National Assembly was responsible for implementing new laws.

The leader of the major party in the National Assembly became the prime minister who in turn hand-picked his cabinet members. The prime ministers of the cabinet made up the Royal Kampuchean Government. This body of government was responsible for enforcing the laws passed by the National Assembly and for the general administration of the government ministries and departments.

Of these various ministries, the Ministry of the Interior was one of the most important since it was responsible for the supervision of all provincial governors and district

administrators, as well as local and provincial police forces. While the king was the supreme head of the state in this system, in reality, power was concentrated in the hands of Prince Sihanouk.

Discussion Point 5.1

Compare and contrast the government system of Cambodia with that of the United States.

Internal Politics

By the early 1960s organized political opposition to Sihanouk and the *Sangkum* had virtually disappeared. The Democratic Party disbanded in 1957 after its leaders, who had been coerced by soldiers, requested the privilege of joining the *Sangkum*. Throughout the 1960s, Prince Sihanouk's *Sangkum* party won every election and maintained control of the National Assembly. Despite its defense of the interests of the rural elite, the *Sangkum* was not an exclusively *right-wing* organization. Sihanouk enlisted a number of leftists in his party. Among these were the future leaders of the Khmer Rouge. Hu Nim and Hou Yuon, served as ministers between 1958 and 1963. Khieu Samphan briefly served as the Secretary of State for Commerce in 1963.

Within the *Sangkum*, there were various factions, both left-wing and right-wing, that tried to strengthen their positions within the assembly and destroy their opponents. Sihanouk experimented with *socialist* policies in the early 1960s, and in 1963 he announced the *nationalization* of banking, foreign trade, and insurance as a means of reducing foreign control of the economy. In 1964, a state trading company, the National Export-Import Corporation, was established to handle foreign commerce. The declared purpose of nationalization was to give Khmer nationals, rather than the Chinese or Vietnamese, a greater role in the nation's trade, to eliminate middlemen, and to conserve *foreign exchange* by limiting the importation of luxury goods. As a result of this policy, foreign investment quickly declined and *crony socialism* emerged. Lucrative state monopolies were parceled out to Sihanouk's most loyal retainers who used these operations to gain personal wealth, but left them devastated through poor management.

Sihanouk's economic policies set him on a collision course with right-wing members of his party. To counter charges of autocracy, he decided to allow more than one *Sangkum* candidate to run for each seat in the September 1966 National Assembly election. The results were a setback for Sihanouk's socialist policies as right-wing candidates emerged victorious, and Lon Nol became the prime minister. Sihanouk, alarmed at his weakened grasp over the government, tried to elicit support from the left-wing faction against the new government. Lon Nol later resigned in April 1967 and Sihanouk appointed Son Sann as the prime minister. This was the twenty-third government to be appointed in Cambodia since the formation of the *Sangkum* in 1955.

Discussion Point 5.2

What is foreign exchange and does a country need it?

Foreign Policy

Cambodia's foreign policy after the Geneva Conference of 1954 has to be understood in the light of its past history of foreign subjugation, and its uncertain prospects of survival due to the intensifying conflict in Vietnam. Sihanouk refused to join the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). SEATO was a military organization that included Laos, South Vietnam, Thailand, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. The organization had been formed to check the influence of the Soviet Union and China in Southeast Asia.

Sihanouk was receptive to the idea of non-alignment, a movement that eventually included over a hundred countries. The objective of non-alignment was to avoid forming an alliance with either of the two major power blocs--the Soviet Union or the United States. As a result of this neutrality, Cambodia accepted aid from the United States as well as the former Soviet Union and China. From Sihanouk's perspective, the western presence in Southeast Asia was only a short-lived phenomenon, and it was Thailand and Vietnam that posed the greater threat to Cambodia. He established close relations with China with the hope that they would deter Vietnamese and Thai advancement.

In neighboring Vietnam, the war was intensifying and Ho Chi Minh's *guerrillas* began crossing into the eastern part of Cambodia to make their way into South Vietnam. This route was to become known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Sihanouk was unable, and perhaps unwilling, to prevent this encroachment by the Vietnamese guerrillas because he feared the war would spread into Cambodia if he intervened.

Sihanouk's unwillingness to join SEATO, his lack of initiative in dealing with the presence of Viet Minh guerrillas inside Cambodia, and his socialist policies led to a deterioration in relations between Cambodia and the United States. In 1965, the United States halted aid and terminated diplomatic relations with Cambodia. As Cambodia began to feel the impact of the loss of economic and military aid from the US, Cambodian officials began to reconsider their foreign policies and in late 1967 South Vietnamese and US troops were deployed to Cambodia. Full diplomatic relations between the United States and Cambodia were restored in June 1969.

The Decline of Sihanouk's Administration

By the mid-1960s Cambodia was unable to maintain a neutral position in the conflict between South and North Vietnam. There were large-scale North Vietnamese and *Viet Cong* supply bases in Cambodian territory. Kompong Som was used as a port of disembarkation for supplies being sent to communist troops. This led to *covert* intervention by South Vietnamese and US troops. Sihanouk's socialist policies had ruined the country's domestic economy. His periodic harassment of the leftists and his decision to allow more than one *Sangkum* candidate to run for each seat in the 1966 election alienated Sihanouk from all factions of his party. In addition to these issues, social unrest had created a favorable environment for the rise in communist insurgencies in the rural areas.

In early 1967, a revolt broke out around Samlot in Battambang Province. Known as the Samlot Revolt, the issues at hand were tax collection and the decision of the *bankrupt* government to forcibly acquire land to build a sugar refinery. With probable encouragement from local communist insurgents, angry villagers attacked a tax collection party and the

revolt spread throughout the entire region. The government reacted harshly, killing many people. The insurgency spread rapidly and by the end of 1968, civil unrest was reported in eleven of the country's eighteen provinces.

By the end of the 1960s Communism had gained a substantial foorhold in Cambodia. In 1968, the communists established the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. The Soviet Union, China, and North Vietnam who were all under communist control at the time, however, were reluctant to help the Cambodian communists overthrow the government of Cambodia. North Vietnam did not want to support a movement against Sihanouk because under his administration they were able to maintain large military bases in Cambodia and have access to Cambodia's sea ports. China and the Soviet Union actually provided Sihanouk with arms during the insurgency. Lack of support from the major world communist powers made a permanent impression on the Cambodian Communists--the Khmer Rouge.

The March 1970 Coup

Sihanouk's administration had become weak and ineffectual by the end of the 1960s. He had lost much of his support and while he was out of the country, General Lon Nole launched a successful *coup* against Sihanouk's government. Sihanouk was on a trip to the Soviet Union and China when the National Assembly was hastily convened on March 18, 1970 and voted unanimously to remove him as the head of state. Lon Nol, who was prime minister at this time, was granted emergency powers. The new government received recognition from many foreign governments.

Most *middle class* and educated Khmers had grown weary of Sihanouk and welcomed the change of government. However, Sihanouk's popularity continued in the villages and demonstrations and riots supporting his reinstatement took place throughout the country. Sihanouk was in Beijing when he proclaimed his intent to regain control of Cambocia with the support of the Chinese government.

GLOSSARY

1. *bankrupt*

The terms refers to persons or institutions who are legally unable to repay their debts.

2. *communist*

One who practices communism, a form of government that supports government ownership of businesses and government planning of the economic activity of a country.

3. *coup*

A sudden takeover of a country's government by a group of conspirators.

4. *covert*

Hidden or secretive.

5. *foreign exchange*

Foreign currency or credit available to the government of a country.

6. *guerrillas*

A roving band of fighters who torment the enemy with ambushes, sudden raids, and other small-scale attacks.

7. *ideology*

A system of thought based on related assumptions, beliefs, and explanations of social movements or policies.

8. *insurgency*

The condition of revolt against a recognized government that does not reach the proportions of a full-scale war.

9. *karma*

The law of karma states that every action influences how the soul will be reborn in the next life. If a person leads a good life the soul will be reborn into a higher state of being in the next life. If a person leads an evil life, the soul will be reborn into a lower state of being in the next life.

10. *leftist*

A term used for a radical party or liberal branch of a political group. In politics, refers to the opposite of conservative (rightist).

GLOSSARY (cont.)

11. *middle class*

In the modern context, the middle class is the group of people between the upper class and the lower class in a society.

12. *nationalization*

Control or ownership of an industry on a national scale by the government of the country.

13. *right wing*

A term that refers to conservative, traditional groups or political parties.

14. *socialism*

Theory that national or local governments, rather than individuals, should own a nation's resources and control their use. Socialism calls for public ownership of land, factories, and other basic means of production.

15. *vanity*

Inflated pride in oneself or in one's achievements, attainments, performance, possessions, and wealth.

16. *Viet Cong*

The insurgent guerrilla movement that fought the South Vietnamese government and its ally, the United States.

Student Activity 1
True or False

____1. People are unanimous in their view of Sihanouk's role in the history of Cambodia.

____2. The military situation after independence in 1953 was generally peaceful.

____3. Communist factions of the Khmer Issarak joined the government after independence in 1953.

____4. Cambodia decided on a neutral status for itself at the Geneva Conference.

____5. Sihanouk's control over the government declined after his abdication in 1955.

____6. Most of the members of the Council of the Kingdom were appointed, not elected.

____7. There was little organized political opposition to the Sangkum in the early 1960s.

____8. Nationalization of banking, foreign trade, and insurance encouraged the rapid growth of Cambodia's economy.

____9. Cambodia did not join SEATO.

____10. The non-alignment movement included members from over a hundred countries.

____11. The Ho Chi Minh Trail was used by soldiers to move supplies from North Vietnam to South Vietnam.

____12. The government quickly resolved the Samlot Revolt.

____13. Most of the major communist nations actively supported the communists in Cambodia.

____14. General Lon Nol launched the 1970 coup.

____15. After his overthrow in 1970, Sihanouk continued to remain popular in the villages .

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice

1. Representatives from which countries below did not attend the 1954 Geneva Conference:

   a. Thailand
   b. United States
   c. France
   d. Japan

2. In 1955 Sihanouk abdicated in favor of his father because:

   a. he was tired of governing the country
   b. of the threats against his life being made by the communists
   c. he wanted to have a free hand to engage in politics
   d. he wanted to devote the rest of his life to charitable causes

3. According to the interpretation of Buddhism adopted by the *Sangkum Reastr Niyum*:

   a. social inequalities among people were not legitimate and had to be corrected
   b. social inequalities among people were legitimate
   c. corruption was legitimate
   d. injustice was legitimate

4. Which of the following consisted only of elected members:

   a. the Crown Council
   b. the National Assembly
   c. the Royal Family Council
   d. the Council of the Kingdom

5. The Royal Kampuchean Government was composed of:

   a. the prime minister and cabinet members
   b. the prime minister, cabinet members and the National Assembly
   c. the prime minister, cabinet members and the National Assembly's ruling partya
   d. the National Assembly and the Council of the Kingdom

6. The supreme head of the state in Cambodia was:

   a. the king
   b. the Minister of the Interior
   c. the Chief of the Military
   d. the Prime Minister

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice (cont.)

7. Nationalization of banking, foreign trade and commerce in 1963 resulted in:

a. a noticeable increase in the standard of living
b. an increase in the popularity of Sihanouk
c. a decrease in communist insurgency in the countryside
d. a quick disappearance of foreign investment

8. Which of the following countries was not a member of SEATO:

a. Thailand
b. New Zealand
c. Cambodia
d. United States

9. SEATO was formed to:

a. have annual conferences on trade and economy
b. increase scientific and technical cooperation between the member countries
c. promote economic development in Southeast Asia
d. check Soviet and Chinese influence in Southeast Asia

10. From Sihanouk's perspective:

a. SEATO was essential for the security of Cambodia
b. Western presence in Southeast Asia was only an interlude in the region's history
c. China and the Soviet Union had a lot to offer in the development of Cambodia
d. increasing the production of rice was an easy way of solving all of Cambodia's problems

11. The Ho Chi Minh Trail:

a. was used to transport soldiers and supplies from North Vietnam to South Vietnam
b. was used to transport soldiers and supplies from North Vietnam to Cambodia
c. is an internationally known hiking trail on the border of Cambodia and Vietnam
d. was a clearing in the jungle used for jogging by Ho Chi Minh during his guerrilla days

12. The Samlot Revolt of 1967:

a. was resolved peacefully
b. led to widespread disturbances that spread to eleven of the country's eighteen provinces
c. led to the revision of the country's tax collection procedures
d. started in Prey Veng Province due to a dispute over tax collection

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice (cont.)

13. In the late 1960s the major communist countries of the world:

a. were eagerly supporting the communists in Cambodia
b. were actively training the communists in Cambodia to overthrow the government
c. were indifferent to the communist struggle in Cambodia
d. were lending support to the Viet Cong

14. The coup of March 1970:

a. was launched in utmost secrecy
b. was launched at the instigation of the Soviet Union and China
c. resulted in Sihanouk's removal as head of state after a close National Assembly vote
d. was launched by General Lon Nol

15. Sihanouk was still popular after the coup of March 1970:

a. among member countries of SEATO
b. in the rural areas of Cambodia
c. among the middle class and elite
d. in the National Assembly

Student Activity 3
Matching Columns

____1. Geneva Conference	a. 1965
____2. Norodom Suramarit	b. leader of the majority party in the National Assembly
____3. *Samdech*	c. Popular Socialist Community
____4. *Sangkum Reastr Niyum*	d. Prince
____5. Council of the Kingdom	e. lower house
____6. National Assembly	f. upper house
____7. Samlot Revolt	g. 1969
____8. break in relations with US	h. April 1954
____9. restoration of relations with US	i. 1967
____10. Prime Minister	j. Sihanouk's father

Student Activity 4
General Questions

1. Describe why Sihanouk continued to be admired as well as criticized for his leadership role in Cambodia after his overthrowing Lon Nol.

2. Why did the communist Viet Minh intensify their struggle for territory after the attainment of independence in 1953?

3. What did the Geneva Conference of 1954 prescribe for Cambodia?

4. How did Sihanouk's role change after his abdication in 1955?

5. What was the message advocated by the *Sangkum*? How did the party expect the poor people to better their lot?

6. Were there different factions in the *Sangkum*? Did they get along with each other?

7. Describe the socialist policies that Sihanouk attempted to adopt. What was their impact on Cambodia?

8. Why did Sihanouk decide to develop a close relationship with China?

9. Why were some foreign governments quick to give recognition to the new government that emerged after the overthrow of Sihanouk?

Student Activity 5
Group Projects

1. What was the position of France as a colonial power in 1953? Find out which countries were under French control during this period. When did these countries achieve their independence? Did the French withdraw easily from their colonies or did they have to face arduous resistance movements?

2. What is the non-alignment movement? Who were the people that founded this movement? Trace the history of this movement and explain why it found so much appeal among over a hundred countries. Do you think that the movement has contributed to the maintenance of peace in the post second world war period?

3. What is the origin of the term Ho Chi Minh Trail? Where is the location of this trail? What was the purpose of this route? Find out the nature and extent of activity carried out on the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

4. Sihanouk's experiment with socialism in Cambodia created what could be called *crony socialism*. State-run organizations were made bankrupt by his closest aides and acquaintances through corruption and mismanagement. In the early 1970s Ferdinand Marcos' experiment with capitalism created what could be called crony capitalism in the Philippines. Analyze the differences and similarities between the policies of these two countries.

ANSWER KEY

Student Activity 1
True or False

1. F	6. T	11. T
2. F	7. T	12. F
3. F	8. F	13. F
4. T	9. T	14. T
5. F	10. T	15. T

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice

1. D	6. A	11. A
2. C	7. D	12. B
3. B	8. C	13. C
4. B	9. D	14. D
5. A	10. B	15. B

Student Activity 3
Matching Columns

1. H	6. E
2. J	7. I
3. D	8. A
4. C	9. G
5. F	10. B

CHAPTER 6

Revolution and Turmoil (1970-79)

As we have read in the previous chapter, Sihanouk was in China at the time of the coup that overthrew his government. A coalition was hastily formed between Sihanouk and theampuchean Communist Party (KCP) with the objective of overthrowing the new government headed by Lon Nol. The Royal Government of Kampuchea was announced in Beijing with Sihanouk as head of state. Other members of this self-declared government were his long-time supporters and the leaders of the Kampuchean Communist Party. For Sihanouk and the KCP, this was an extremely useful marriage of convenience. The loyalty of the peasants rallied them to the cause of the KCP-Sihanouk coalition. This arrangement operated on two fronts. Sihanouk and his supporters stayed in Beijing while the KCP commanded the insurgency in Cambodia. Gradually, the KCP deprived Sihanouk of any leadership role in the coalition, and by the end of 1973, this coalition had broken down with the KCP emerging victorious.

Discussion Point 6.1

What is a "marriage of convenience"? In your opinion, how did the relationship between Sihanouk and the KCP fit this terminology?

The Wartime Years (1970-75)

The coup of March 1970 plunged Cambodia into a more uncertain future. In neighboring Vietnam, a massive conflict between the United States and the North Vietnamese was in progress. With the fall of Sihanouk, the Viet Cong in Vietnam became alarmed at the prospect of a stronger US military presence in Cambodia. To prevent this from happening, they began transferring their military installations away from the border areas and farther into Cambodian territory. To counter this move, the United States and South Vietnamese forces unleashed a large military operation to destroy the North Vietnamese bases in Cambodia. They were able to destroy some of the supplies and

weapons, but most had already been moved deeper into Cambodia. The movement of the Viet Cong, supported by the Khmer Rouge, brought them into conflict with the Kampuchean Army, a much smaller force, and no match for them. The Khmer Rouge established "liberated areas" in the entire northeastern third of the country, as well as in areas in the south and the southwest. These were the areas from where the government (Kampuchean) Army had retreated.

The United States started an intense bombing of the Khmer Rouge and Viet Cong positions in Cambodia. The bombing was particularly intense in the summer of 1973, when Operation Arclight was launched. According to the United States government, a total of 539,129 tons of bombs were dropped over Cambodia, which is three and a half times the quantity of bombs dropped over Japan during all of World War II. These bombings gave support to the Lon Nol government, but created irreparable damages in Cambodia. Much of the bombing targeted the most densely populated areas of the country and as a result between 30,000 to 500,000 Cambodians were killed. Some observers believe that the untold misery caused by the bombings drove the Cambodian people into the arms of the Khmer Rouge.

Operation Arclight was halted after the signing of the Paris Peace Accords by North Vietnam and the United States on January 27, 1973. The Cambodian communists, however, refused to take part in the peace talks and their mistrust of the North Vietnamese grew with the signing of the accords. The Khmer Rouge increased control in their territory and by the end of 1974, it was clear that Lon Nol's government in Phnom Penh was on the decline.

Economy

This period of Civil War had a major impact on the country's economy. Production and export of all commodities stopped immediately as instability spread throughout the countryside. Intense combat in the nation's most populated farming areas caused a large proportion of the country's rural population to flee to the towns and cities. By 1975, the population of Phnom Penh had swollen from just 50,000 in 1955 to two million. Rice production in the country-side declined steeply as the fighting reduced the area available for

rice cultivation. The 1972 rice harvest was only 26.9 percent of the harvest in 1969, and for the first time since independence, Cambodia had to import rice from Japan and Thailand. Rubber exports, the country's second largest foreign exchange earner, came to a halt as the plantations suffered extensive damage.

Lon Nol tried to reverse the socialist policies of Sihanouk. He reduced the control of the government on economic policies by denationalizing the banks and encouraging foreign investment, but prevailing war conditions prevented most of these reforms from benefiting the Cambodian people. As the war progressed, the government put a major effort into increasing the country's food supply in the country by halting the export of any food items from Cambodia. The government accepted foreign aid from many countries. The United States was the major aid donor to Cambodia. By 1975, the economy had completely collapsed, and the country was surviving mainly on imported food donated by the United States government.

Comprehension Check 6.1

Fill in the blanks

1. The movement of the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong into Cambodia brought them into conflict with the _____.
2. The bombings in Operation Arclight resulted in _____ deaths.
3. Rice production under the Lon Nol government _____.
4. In 1972, Cambodia had to import rice from _____ and _____.
5. The Cambodian economy had _____ by 1975.

Communism in Cambodia

The origins of communism in Cambodia can be traced to the formation of the Vietnamese Communist Party in 1930 by Ho Chi Minh. By the end of World War II, a handful of Cambodians had joined the party but their influence on policies was negligible. Later in 1951, the Khmer Peoples Revolutionary Party (KPRP) was formed. Some members

of the KPRP took part in the 1955 elections as the Pracheachon Party, but did not win many votes. In the 1950, Sihanouk's government subjected the Pracheachon Party to constant antagonism. Sihanouk frequently labeled local communists as the Khmer Rouge (Red Khmer), a term that later came to signify the communist party. By 1960 Sihanouk was able to reduce the influence of communism in the countryside.

During the 1950s, Cambodian students in Paris organized their own Cambodian communist group . From the ranks of this student-based party came the men and women who returned to Cambodia in the 1960s to take control of the party apparatus. They led an effective resistance against Sihanouk and Lon Nol from 1968 to 1975 before forming the government of Democratic Kampuchea in 1975. It was their belief that Cambodia had to be self-reliant at all costs. This was the cornerstone of the policy adopted by the government of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-79).

Pol Pot, who rose to leadership of the communist party in the 1960s, was born in 1928 in Kompong Thom Province. He attended a technical high school in Phnom Penh and then went to Paris for further studies. Other future leaders who were students in Paris at that time were Khieu Samphan, Hou Yuon, Hu Nim, Son Sen, Ieang Sary, Khieu Ponnary (Pol Pot's wife), and Khieu Thirith (Ieng Sary's wife). Most of these students who were sent to France on government scholarships came from influential landowning families.

Pol Pot returned to Cambodia in 1953 where he completely dedicated himself to the causes of the party. By 1963 he emerged as the leader of the Cambodia's Communist Party. Indeed, control of the party was in the hands of Pol Pot and his compatriots from their student days. In July 1963, Pol Pot and most of the party leaders left Phnom Penh to form an insurgent base in Rotanakiri Province in the northeastern area of Cambodia inhabited by the Khmer Loeu (Highland Khmer). Centuries of mistreatment by the Cambodian government made them willing recruits for the guerrilla struggle that was to follow. In 1966, the party changed its name to the Khmer Communist Party (KCP).

Democratic Kampuchea (1975-79)

The Khmer Rouge launched a final offensive to capture Phnom Penh on January 1, 1975. They made steady progress as the government troops opposing them were routed. On April 1, 1975 President Lon Nol resigned and left the country. The Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975.

The population of the city was swollen with refugees fleeing the war in the countryside. Soon after taking control, the Khmer Rouge forcibly moved urban residents out of the city to the countryside. They justified this relocation with the alleged threat of US air strikes and the formidable task of transporting sufficient food and supplies to the urban areas. The real motivations for the relocation however, were quite different. The Khmer Rouge were determined to radically change Cambodia, transforming it into a country based solely on an agrarian economy. By uprooting and eradicating the preexisting urban social structure, they believed corruption would be eliminated. In addition, this policy was used to gain greater control over the urban population and potential counter-insurgents. The population of the city was thus classified as the unreliable "new people" and made to work in forced labor camps throughout the country. Forced evacuation of the urban areas led to thousands of deaths due to starvation and disease.

The new government immediately sought out and executed many people who had connections to the previous government. Civil servants, police, members of the military, school teachers, and intellectuals were all targeted for execution. Even the wives and children of these people were not spared. The basic philosophy of the party headed by Pol Pot was not revealed to the people. Thus it was referred to as the Angkar Loeu (High Organization) or simply Angkar. During the entire Democratic Kampuchea period, Khmer Rouge *cadres* brutally exercised their power and murdered millions of Cambodians.

Society Under the Angkar

The Khmer Rouge attempted to change Cambodian society to an extent that is unmatched in post World War II history. According to Pol Pot, five classes existed in

Cambodia before 1975: peasants, workers, *bourgeoisie*, *capitalists*, and *feudalists*. After the revolution of 1975 Cambodian society became divided into three classes: workers, peasants, and all others. The Khmer Rouge attempted to eliminate the bourgeoisie, capitalist, and feudal classes of the previous society.

A more important distinction was between the suspect new people, those driven out of the city after the Khmer Rouge victory, and the more trustworthy "old people", the poor and middle class peasants who had remained in the countryside. The new people were treated as slave laborers. They were constantly relocated and were forced to do the hardest physical labor in the most inhospitable, disease infested parts of the country, such as forests, upland areas, and swamps. New people were segregated from the old people. They had no privacy and received the smallest rice *rations* and there was little or no medical care available to the new people. They were subjected to continuous political *indoctrination* and could be executed without trial. Families were often separated because people were divided into work brigades by age and sex, and then sent to different parts of the country. When Cambodia suffered food shortages in 1977, the new people suffered the most.

As a rule, theold people were treated better than the new people. They were generally allowed to remain in their native villages. Because of their age old resentment of the urban and rural elites, many of the peasants at first supported the Khmer Rouge's idea of the new society. The Khmer Rouge divided the country into eight regions for administrative purposes. There was a wide variation in the policies of the Khmer Rouge in the different regions of the country. The degree of harshness of the treatment of the new people depended on the availability of food and the personal quality of cadres in a region.

The complex system of Khmer language usage to define a person's social status was abandoned. People were encouraged to call each other "friend" or "comrade", and avoid the traditional signs of bowing or folding the hands in salutation. In spite of the stated objective of the Khmer Rouge to pursue equality among the people, some people did not have to endure the hardships faced by the general population. These were the members of the KCP,

the military, and local leaders of peasant backgrounds. Even during times of severe food shortage they had adequate food supplies. Khmer Rouge family members were promoted to influential positions in the government, and used their positions for personal gain. In this regard, the Khmer Rouge administration was no different from the Sihanouk government.

Terror in Cambodia

As previously noted, the new people had been targeted by the Khmer Rouge for elimination. They were executed for not working hard enough, for complaining about living conditions, for collecting or stealing food, for wearing jewelry, for having sexual relations, for grieving over the loss of friends, or for expressing religious sentiments. People who were ill were often eliminated. The genocide continued until the Vietnamese invasion in 1979.

Estimates of the number of people who died under the Khmer Rouge vary tremendously. *Amnesty International* estimated 1.4 million dead from unnatural causes between 1975 and 1978. Almost 20 percent of the population died during the years of rule by the government of Democratic Kampuchea.

The greatest causes of death were hunger, diseases, and *exposure*. Many people could not survive the rigors of life in the countryside with the hard physical labor and malnutrition. People also died from the bites of venomous snakes, drowned in the flooded areas during the rainy season, and were killed by wild beasts in the jungle. Many fell victim to malaria. Nonetheless, executions accounted for hundreds of thousands of victims. Journalists and foreign visitors have been shown "killing fields" containing remains of over 16,000 bodies.

Religion and Minorities

The Khmer Rouge did not believe in the educational system that existed in Cambodia prior to their take-over. They executed thousands of teachers and tried to establish a new educational system. Besides the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic, the major goal of their educational system was to indoctrinate people in Khmer Rouge values. The

government viewed children as malleable instruments of the party and encouraged them to spy on adults.

From 1975 to 1978 the country's health facilities were extremely poor. Many physicians were executed or prohibited from practicing. The party members and the armed forces had access to Western medicine and hospitals while the rest of the population, especially the new people, had essentially no health care.

Democratic Kampuchea's government relentlessly pursued the cause of economic self-sufficiency as mentioned in the 1959 doctoral dissertation of Khieu Samphan. The belief was that Cambodia could have renewed greatness if she avoided dependency on foreign countries. Extreme measures were taken to achieve self-reliance. Inspired by China's Great Leap Forward policy in 1958, the Khmer Rouge *collectivized* farms and abolished private property. Harvested crops became communal property among the peasants.

We have read earlier that the ancient kingdom of Angkor had become rich and powerful because it controlled extensive irrigation systems that produced rice surpluses. Agriculture in modern Cambodia depended upon seasonal rains. The Khmer Rouge leadership believed that by building a large network of irrigation systems, canals, and dams it would be able to produce rice on a year round basis. People were mobilized into work brigades for agricultural cultivation. It was the new people who suffered and sacrificed the most to complete these ambitious programs.

The government also tried to move the industry into the countryside. Currency was abolished, and domestic trade and commerce could only be conducted through the barter system. Rice, measured in tins, became the most important medium of exchange though people also bartered gold, jewelry, and other personal possessions. Foreign trade was virtually non-existent, however. China was an important trading partner during this period. Trade with France, Britain, and the United States, amounting to only a few million dollars, was conducted through a Hong Kong intermediary.

Party Conflicts

At the time of the establishment of Democratic Kampuchea, the KCP had people with conflicting political agendas in its organization. In addition, there was intense personal rivalry between some of the leaders of the party. Although the armed forces were formally under central authority, real control of the regional armed forces remained in the hands of the zone party committee heads. Some of the zone party committee heads opposed the central government of Pol Pot. The strongest opposition to Pol Pot's rule within the Khmer Rouge came from the Eastern Zone. There were at least two unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the central government in July and in September of 1975.

After the failed attempts to overthrow his government, Pol Pot went about consolidating his power in the country. He would form an alliance with the party heads of a zone, and with their support move into another zone to eliminate opposing members. These *purges* were conducted in the Eastern, Western, Northern, and Northwestern Zones. The bloodiest purge was conducted in the Eastern Zone where there was especially strong opposition to Pol Pot's rule. In May 1978, after a revolt against central rule, Khmer Rouge members mainly from the Southwestern region, moved in and killed approximately 100,000 people in the Eastern Zone.

The Fall of Democratic Kampuchea

Throughout the period of Democratic Kampuchea's dominance, there were clashes between Khmer Rouge and Vietnamese forces in the border areas. Attempts were made by leaders of both countries to settle issues but no lasting peace was achieved. The situation deteriorated in 1977 when there were incidents along Cambodia's borders with Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam. The incidents led to the deaths of several people and drew attention to the Khmer Rouge.

Faced with an intensely aggressive Khmer Rouge, in early 1978 the Vietnamese leadership decided to support internal resistance to the Pol Pot government. The Eastern Zone became the focus of this effort. Tensions rose as massacres of ethnic Vietnamese

intensified after the failed revolt of 1978 in the Eastern Zone. In that same year, tens of thousands of refugees moved to Vietnam from Cambodia. This greatly alarmed the Vietnamese government. In addition, the territorial ambitions of the Khmer Rouge to recover the Mekong Delta, which they regarded as Cambodian territory, was also cause for alarm. On December 3, 1978, the formation of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation (KNUFNS) was announced in Hanoi, the capital of Vietnam. This group was composed of people with differing political beliefs, but common in their goal to oppose the Khmer Rouge.

Cambodia's aggressive attitude had surpassed Vietnam's level of tolerance. On December 22, 1978 Vietnam launched a massive military offensive with the idea of overthrowing Pol Pot's Democratic Kampuchea. Phnom Penh fell to the advancing Vietnamese forces in seventeen days. Pol Pot and other Khmer Rouge leaders fled to the jungles near the border, issued a call to arms, and started another insurgency based on the same tactics used in the 1960s. A new administration was established in Cambodia under Vietnamese mentorship. Although the Khmer Rouge wre not able to overthrow the newly installed government, they were able to keep the country in a state of instability by their sporadic counterattacks. The new government, weak in manpower and resources, was strengthened by a substantial Vietnamese military force and civilian advisors. The Vietnamese realized that the main tasks of their rule would be survival, restoring the economy, and defeating the Khmer Rouge.

GLOSSARY

1. *Amnesty International*

An organization based in London devoted to helping people imprisoned for their political or religious beliefs, provided that they have not advocated violence. AI was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977.

2. *animists*

People who believe that inanimate objects have souls or spirits.

3. *bourgeois*

A French word used to refer to a class of people between the aristocracy and the peasants.

4. *cadres*

The active members of an organization who are capable of assuming control and training others.

5. *capitalist*

An individual who supports private ownership of businesses.

6. *collectivization*

The process of forming large farms through consolidation of small units for joint operation under government supervision.

7. *comrade*

In the context of this chapter, a form of address by communists.

8. *defrock*

To deprive of priestly function, recognition, or privileges.

9. *exposure*

A condition resulting from being unprotected from nature e.g., rain, sun, heat, and cold.

10. *feudalist*

A powerful landowning person of the dominant class. The land owned by the feudalist is worked by the peasants.

11. *indoctrination*

The process of giving instruction in the fundamentals of a philosophy.

GLOSSARY (cont.)

12. *persecute*

To harass in a manner to injure or kill. People are usually persecuted due to some difference in political opinions or religious practices.

13. *purge*

The process of getting ride of suspected disloyal or undesirable elements of a group.

14. *ration*

A system used by the government to distribute scarce products among the people of a country. It is generally used only during a war or a state of emergency.

Student Activity 1
True or False

____1. Sihanouk and the Kampuchean Communist Party shared many common beliefs.

____2. The quantity of bombs dropped during Operation Arclight was greater than the total quantity of bombs dropped over Japan during World War II.

____3. The misery caused by the US bombing during Operation Arclight may have driven the people into the arms of the Khmer Rouge.

____4. Rice production in Cambodia increased after the formation of the Khmer Republic in 1970.

____5. Lon Nol increased government control of the economy after taking power in 1970.

____6. The Lon Nol government was supported by the United States.

____7. Most of the students of the "Paris Student Group" came from poor families.

____8. Pol Pot established his first insurgent base in 1963 in Rotanokiri Province.

____9. The Khmer Rouge considered the urban population of Cambodia their natural allies.

____10. There was no difference in the treatment of the old people and the new people in Democratic Kampuchea.

____11. Under the Khmer Rouge Cambodia did not suffer food shortages.

____12. The policy of terror adopted by the Khmer Rouge varied from region to region.

____13. The greatest causes of unnatural deaths in Democratic Kampuchea were hunger, disease, and exposure.

____14. The Khmer Rouge government allowed people the freedom of religious expression.

____15. The government of Democratic Kampuchea was overthrown by Vietnamese intervention.

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice

1. At the time of the coup of 1970 Sihanouk was where

   a. Vietnam
   b. China
   c. United States
   d. Thailand

2. Sihanouk was succeeded as the head of the government in Cambodia after the coup by:

   a. Pol Pot
   b. Ieng Sary
   c. Lon Nol
   d. Son Sen

3. In the early 1970s:

   a. Cambodia was on its way to economic recovery
   b. the population increased rapidly
   c. rice production in Cambodia remained high
   d. a massive conflict between the US and North Vietnam was in progress in neighboring Vietnam

4. Operation Arclight consisted of:

   a. large scale bombing by the US of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong bases in Cambodia
   b. large scale bombing by Cambodian army of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong bases in Cambodia
   c. dropping of flares by the US Air Force at night to slow down the movement of the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong
   d. none of the above

5. Of the following, who refused to take part in the Paris Peace talks of 1973:

   a. United States
   b. North Vietnam
   c. Sihanouk
   d. Cambodian communists

6. During the period between 1970 and 1975, the major economic effort of the govern was concentrated on:

   a. improving the investment climate in Cambodia
   b. improving the overall food supply situation in the country
   c. increasing exports of rice and rubber
   d. establishing an industrial base for the country

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice (cont.)

7. Rice production declined in the early 1970s because of:

   a. natural calamities
   b. an outbreak of malaria
   c. non-availability of seeds
   d. reduced rice cultivation due to war conditions

8. Which country was the major foreign aid donor to Cambodia during the period from 1970 to 1975:

   a. United States
   b. France
   c. Soviet Union
   d. Vietnam

9. The Vietnamese Communist Party was founded by:

   a. Pol Pot
   b. Lenin
   c. Ho Chi Minh
   d. Mao Zedong

10. The term "Khmer Rouge" was coined by:

    a. Pol Pot
    b. Sihanouk
    c. the international press
    d. the US government

11. "Khmer Rouge" literally means:

    a. Red (communist) Khmer
    b. rogue elements of the Khmer communist party
    c. communist guerrillas
    d. none of the above

12. The communist movement organized in the 1950s by Khmer students in Paris:

    a. was closely allied with the Khmer Peoples Revolutionary party (KPRP)
    b. was supported by the US government
    c. took part in the 1966 elections in Cambodia
    d. had little connection with the communist party in Cambodia

13. After the Khmer Rouge came to power in 1975, the country was known as:

    a. Peoples Republic of Kampuchea
    b. Republic of Kampuchea
    c. Democratic Kampuchea
    d. Khmer Republic

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice (cont.)

14. The Khmer Rouge used the term "new people" for:

    a. recent immigrants to Cambodia
    b. members of the urban population
    c. members of the rural population
    d. Vietnamese who resided in Cambodia

15. The people targeted for elimination by the Khmer Rouge were:

    a. civil servants
    b. intellectuals
    c. the new people
    d. all of the above

16. What percentage of the population died of unnatural causes in Cambodia between 1975 and 1978 as estimated by Amnesty International:

    a. 50%
    b. 12%
    c. 20%
    d. 35%

17. The cornerstone of the economic policy adopted by Democratic Kampuchea was:

    a. self-sufficiency
    b. industrial expansion
    c. tourism
    d. increased exports

18. Within the Khmer Rouge, the strongest opposition to Pol Pot came from:

    a. the intellectuals
    b. Khieu Samphan and his associates
    c. the Eastern Zone
    d. the Southwestern Zone

19. After their attack in late 1978, the Vietnamese forces took Phnom Penh:

    a. after heavy fighting for over two months
    b. in a week
    c. with the approval of the US government
    d. in seventeen days

Student Activity 3
Matching Columns

____1. KCP	a. capital of Vietnam
____2. KPRP	b. Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation
____3. KNUFNS	c. Kampuchean Peoples Revolutionary Party
____4. Khmer Loeu	d. urban residents
____5. Angkar Loeu	e. poor and middle class peasants in the countryside
____6. new people	f. highland Khmer
____7. old people	g. High Organization
____8. Hanoi	h. most important trading partner of Democratic Kampuchea
____9. China	i. Kampuchean Communist Party

Student Activity 4
General Questions

1. How was Sihanouk sidelined from his role in the coalition he founded with the Kampuchean Communist Party in 1970?

2. How did the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong react to the overthrow of Sihanouk's government n 1970?

3. What did Operation Arclight achieve? When was it halted?

4. Discuss the effects of the years 1970 to 1975 on Cambodia's agriculture. On what did the government have to ultimately focus its efforts?

5. Describe the evolution of the Kampuchean communist movement from its inception to the formation of Democratic Kampuchea in 1975.

6. Why did the Paris Student Group of the 1950s have such an impact on the country in the 1970s?

7. Why did Pol Pot choose the northeastern Rotanokiri Province for the establishment of his insurgent base in 1963?

8. Describe the movement of the urban population just before and after the formation of Democratic Kampuchea.

9. What were the reasons given by the Khmer Rouge for the forcible relocation of urban residents to the countryside? What were the real motivations for this forced relocation?

10. According to Pol Pot, what were the classes existing in Cambodia before 1975? What was the society to consist of after the Khmer Rouge came to power? How was this to be achieved?

Student Activity 4
General Questions (cont.)

11. Describe the difference in treatment of the old people and the new people in Democratic Kampuchea? In your opinion, why was there such a differentiation?

12. What were the leading causes of death in Democratic Kampuchea? What were the reasons for which a person could be executed?

13. Describe the change in attitude of the Khmer Rouge towards Buddhist monks before and after they came to power.

14. What was the rationale of the Khmer Rouge for adopting the agriculture first policy in Cambodia?

15. Discuss the conditions of domestic and international trade in Democratic Kampuchea.

Student Activity 5
Group Projects

1. Find out more about America's secret war in Cambodia in the early 1970s. What were the objectives of this war? Was the American public informed about this war? What was achieved by it? Discuss the pros and cons of conducting this operation.

2. Starting from the Sihanouk years in the 1950s, outline the influence of foreign countries in Cambodia. Which country had the most influence over Cambodia during:

a. the Sihanouk years
b. the Khmer Republic (1970-75)
c. Democratic Kampuchea (1970-79)

Discuss in detail how the influence of these foreign countries manifested itself. In your opinion, could Cambodia have avoided the influence of these countries and emerged with less bloodshed?

3. What were the factors that made Khmer Rouge ideology appealing to the peasants and the Highland Khmer? What future course might Cambodia have taken if the Khmer Rouge had achieved the transformation of society that Pol Pot had outlined in 1975? Discuss the pros and cons of the economic policy adopted by Democratic Kampuchea.

ANSWER KEY

Student Activity 1
True or False

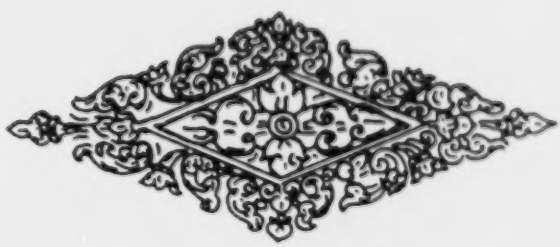
1. F	6. T	11. F
2. T	7. F	12. T
3. T	8. T	13. T
4. F	9. F	14. F
5. F	10. F	15. T

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice

1. B	6. B	11. A	16. C
2. C	7. D	12. D	17. A
3. D	8. A	13. C	18. C
4. A	9. C	14. B	19. D
5. D	10. B	15. D	

Student Activity 3
Matching Columns

1. I	6. D
2. C	7. E
3. B	8. A
4. F	9. H
5. G	



CHAPTER 7

Contemporary Cambodia (1979-)

Phnom Penh fell to the advancing Vietnamese forces on January 7, 1979. On the following day, an anti-Khmer Rouge faction announced the formation of a new government with Heng Samrin as president of the ruling body. The official name of the country was changed to the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK). Within a week, the newly installed government notified the United Nations Security Council that it was the sole legitimate ruling body of the country.

Political Developments

Vietnam was the first country to recognize the new government of Cambodia. The PRK regime and Vietnam cemented their relations by signing a twenty-five year Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. One of the major provisions of the treaty dealt with mutual security assistance. The two governments also signed agreements of cooperation on economic, cultural, educational, public health, scientific, and technology transfer. In rapid succession, the Soviet Union, its allies, and many other developing nations extended recognition to the PRK even though there were other countries that continued to recognize the Khmer Rouge. Thailand was opposed to the Vietnamese presence in Cambodia concerned that its security was threatened directly by the events in Cambodia. The other countries of ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore) also demanded Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia.

Under the leadership of Heng Samrin, Cambodia's PRK regime set out to restore social and economic stability. The lack of educated and qualified personnel to staff administrative positions hampered efforts to establish an effective civil government. During the years of rule by the Democratic Kampuchea government, most of the educated elite had been murdered or fled the country. To add to their economic problems, a large part of the new government's resources had to be directed towards combating the Khmer Rouge guerrilla forces in the western and northwestern border areas.

By mid-1980, peace had returned, albeit precariously, to the villages and cities. Relief aid from Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and other Western nations helped prevent mass starvation. The government managed to extend its control over areas close to the Thai border and initiated the drafting of a new constitution in January 1980. The National Assembly, which was elected in 1981, formally adopted the constitution in June.

Opposition to the PRK was led by three groups. The first, and the most powerful group was the Khmer Rouge. The second group, the Khmer Peoples National Liberation Front (KPNLF), was led by Son Sann and had among its members Cambodians from Lon Nol's 1970-75 Khmer Republic. The KPNLF, however, could not provide an effective opposition to the PRK government due to serious disputes among its leaders. The third and smallest resistance faction was led by Sihanouk supporters.

Government Structure

The constitution of the PRK guaranteed a broad range of civil liberties and fundamental rights. It defined Cambodia as a democratic state gradually advancing towards socialism. The transition to socialism was to take place under the leadership of the Khmer Peoples Revolutionary Party (KPRP).

The National Assembly was named as the supreme organ of state power. Its members were elected to five-year terms. The assembly's 117 seats were filled on May 1, 1981, the date of the first PRK elections. The assembly was empowered to adopt or amend the constitution and the laws, and to oversee their implementation; to determine domestic and foreign policies; to adopt economic and cultural programs, and to oversee the state budget; and to elect or impeach its own officers and members of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers. The assembly was also authorized to levy, revise, or abolish taxes. The governing body should convene twice a year but could hold additional sessions if necessary.

The Council of State was comprised of seven elected members of the National Assembly. The chairperson of the council served as the head of state. The council's

members were the most influential leaders of the PRK. Between sessions of the National Assembly, the Council of State should carry out the assembly's duties.

The Council of Ministers was named the government's top executive body. Apart from the prime minister, the Council of Ministers had two deputy prime ministers and twenty ministers. The National Assembly elects the Council of Ministers for five-year terms. They were responsible collectively to the assembly. When the assembly was not in session, they were to be responsible to the Council of State. The prime minister must be a member of the assembly, whereas the other council members need not be. The council would coordinate the work of government agencies at all levels, while the Council of Ministers oversees the different government ministries.

The Judiciary would be in charge of the administration of justice of the people's revolutionary courts that are set up Phnom Penh and other major provincial cities. The People's Supreme Court was named as the highest court in the country. The judicial system was to be comprised of the people's revolutionary courts, the military tribunals, and the public prosecutor's office. Judges are appointed by the Council of Ministers on the recommendations of local administrative bodies such as the people's revolutionary committees, appointed judges, and public prosecutors.

Local People's Revolutionary Committees were created when the country was divided into eighteen provinces (*khet*) and two special municipalities (*krong*), Phnom Penh and Kompong Som, which are under direct government control. The provinces were subdivided into 122 districts (*srok*), 1,325 communes (*khum*), and 9,386 villages (*phum*). The subdivisions of municipalities were called wards (*sangkat*).

An elective body, consisting of a chairperson (president), one or more vice chairpersons, and a number of committee memberswouldruns each committee. At the ward or commune level, the members of the people's revolutionary committees to be elected directly by local inhabitants for a three-year term.

Comprehension Check 7.1

Fill in the blanks

1. _____ was the first country to recognize the PRK government.
2. The _____ was the most popular of the three groups opposing the PRK government.
3. The Council of Ministers served as the _____ of the government.
4. The _____ was the highest court in the PRK.
5. The country was divided into _____ provinces.

The Economy

The leaders of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation developed a policy for the economic growth of Cambodia before the Vietnamese invasion. These guidelines advocated a planned economy with markets, the restoration of banks, currency, and trade, the abolition of forced labor, the introduction of an eight-hour workday, and pay based on work performed.

According to the KPRP, the Cambodian economy had three main parts: the state economy, the collective economy, and the family economy. The state economy covered large-scale agricultural production, industrial production, communication, and transportation, finance, and foreign and domestic trade. The collective economy, the largest of the three elements, consisted of solidarity groups (*krom samaki*) in agriculture, fishing, forestry, and handicrafts. A solidarity group was a production unit of seven to fifteen families united in a common endeavor. It included the home economies of peasants, most retail businesses, individual artisans, handicrafts, and small trade.

The government reestablished Cambodia's banking system, which had been abolished in 1975, with the creation of the People's National Bank of Kampuchea in 1980. The main functions of the bank were to provide funds for state commerce and loans for agriculture. The country's currency, the *riel*, was reintroduced in March 1980. At that time, the value of one *riel* equaled the value of one kilogram of rice.

Under the PRK government 's hybrid economic system, the economy made a modest recovery. Citizens were allowed to buy and sell agricultural produce and handicrafts. The law guaranteed workers the right to keep their wages, other formsof income, and their property. Encouraged and protected by the state, hundreds of shops and factories, each employing a few workers opened for business in Phnom Penh and other urban areas.

Discussion Point 7.1

What is a planned economy? What other nations have a planned economy? What kind of an economy does the US have?

First Plan (1986-90)

The First Five-Year Program for Socioeconomic Restoration and Development, or First Plan, originated in February 1984 when Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia agreed to coordinate economic programs. Cambodia's plan gave the highest priority to agricultural production and focused on the four sectors of food, rubber, fishing, and timber. Production targets were set for each sector and the plan labeled, "agriculture and forestry," was seen as the real force of the national economy. The plan envisioned progressive construction of a small to medium-scale industrial base, improvement of roads and waterways, and an increase in exports.

Agriculture, accounting for 90 percent of the *GDP* in 1985 and approximately 80 percent of the work force, was the mainstay of the economy. Rice production frequently fell short of the planned target amounts, causing severe food shortages in the 1980s. Adverse weather conditions, insufficient numbers of farm implements, inexperienced personnel, and government policies all contributed to low *productivity*. The main secondary crops were corn, cassava,, sweet potatoes, peanuts, soybeans, sesame seeds, and rubber. Local officials often encouraged residents of different regions to increase the cultivation of secondary crops in times of drought to compensate for the rice deficit. Rubber production picked up after the PRK government came to power.

Industry

Industrial activities were concentrated mainly in the processing of commodities such as rice, fish, wood, and rubber. Manufacturing plants were small and produced consumer goods, for example, soda, cigarettes, food items. Household products, soap, paper, and utensils, were also produced to satisfy local demands. Under the PRK government, most industries were producing far below capacity because of frequent power cuts, shortages of spare parts and raw materials, and the lack of skilled workers and experienced managers.

Major manufacturing plants in Phnom Penh included the Tuol Kok Textile factory, the largest of six textile factories in the city. There were also four power plants, a soft drink factory, a tobacco factory, a ferroconcrete factory, and some other enterprises that produced consumer goods. In Kompong Som and in neighboring Kampot Province, rice mills, lumber mills, small brick and tile factories, power plants, an oil refinery, a tractor assembly plant, and cement and phosphate factories were reported to be in operation. A tire factory, and several mechanical workshops and warehouses were located in the important industrial center of Ta Khmau in Kampot Province. Battambang Province had shops for repairing farm implements, a textile mill, a jute bag factory, an automobile and tractor repair plant, and a phosphate-fertilizer plant. In Kompong Cham Province, there were a cotton-spinning textile factory, some silk weaving operations, and an automobile tire and tube plant.

Handicrafts

Small family-run businesses and private enterprises specializing in weaving, tailoring, and small manufacturing products grew rapidly throughout Cambodia and contributed to the economic recovery of the 1980s.

Trade and Commerce

The major item of domestic commerce was rice. Rice was sold to state purchasing agencies in exchange for farm implements, consumer goods, or cash. The state increasingly found itself in competition with private merchants for the procurement of rice. In order to force the peasants to sell rice to the state, the government prohibited private traders from

transporting rice across provincial boundaries, a measure that had only limited success. Farmers had little incentive to sell to the state because the price was generally lower than that offered by private merchants.

Since 1979, Cambodia's major imports have consisted of machinery, tractors, vehicles, fuels, raw materials for light industry, consumer goods, clothing, cement, and chemical fertilizers. Exports have been natural rubber (latex), resin, corn, tobacco, soybeans, and timber. Cambodia's exports have not been able to keep pace with its imports, and as a result, the country has been running a trade deficit. Cambodia's major trading partners in the 1980s were Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and its allies in Eastern Europe, particularly East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria. In addition to this official trade, a substantial amount of unofficial trade was conducted with Thailand and Singapore. Trade with Thailand took place in border areas where dried fish, fresh crabs, shrimp, lobster, animal hides, elephant tusks, baby crocodiles, and gemstones were exchanged for Thai clothing, sandals, toothpaste and toothbrushes, food, and bicycles. Trade with Singapore was more visible. Ships from Singapore arrived regularly in Phnom Penh to deliver supplies to private companies and international agencies operating in the country.

In the 1980s, Cambodia was heavily dependent upon foreign aid and assistance. The largest amount of aid and scientific assistance was offered by Vietnam and the Soviet Union and its allies. Western countries channeled aid through international organizations, including the International Committee for the Red Cross, the United Nations Children's Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Food Program, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Transportation and Communications

Cambodia's transportation system has been severely damaged over the years by warfare. Efforts aimed towards restoration have been hampered by the inadequate transportation system. In the late 1980s, Cambodia had about 13,350 kilometers of roads, compared to 19,500 kilometers in 1969. Currently, only about 20 percent of roads and

highways are covered with asphalt, about 50 percent of the roads are made of crushed stone or gravel, and the remaining 30 percent are made of unimproved earth or are little more than tracks. In the late 1980s, the road network was inadequate for Cambodia's requirements. Commercial vehicles such as trucks and buses were insufficient in number and lacked the necessary spare parts to keep them running. Road construction and maintenance were ignored by the financially hard pressed government, while insurgents regularly destroyed bridges, rendering some routes unsuitable for travel.

Cambodia has two rail lines, both originating from Phnom Penh and totaling 612 kilometers of single, meter-gage track. The first line was built by the French between 1930 and 1940 and ran from Phnom Penh to Paoy Pet on the Thai border . The second line, from Phnom Penh to Kompong Som, was built between 1960 and 1969. Heavy guerrilla fighting continued to disrupt railway services throughout the 1980s.

The nation's extensive waterways have been important historically in domestic trade. The Mekong and the Tonle Sap, with their numerous tributaries, provide routes of considerable lengths. The routes, 3,700 kilometers in length, are navigable year round by crafts having *draughts* of up to 0.6 meters, with another 282 kilometers navigable by crafts having draughts of up to 1.8 meters. In some areas, especially west of the Mekong River and north of the Tonle Sap, the villages are completely dependent on the waterways for communication and transportation. Launches, *junks*, and barges transport passengers, rice, and other products.

Cambodia has two major ports, Phnom Penh and Kompong Som, as well as five minor ones. Phnom Penh, located at the junction of the Basak river, the Mekong river, and the Tonle Sap river, is capable of receiving 8,000-ton ships during the wet season and 5,000-ton ships during the dry season. It is an important port for international commerce and domestic communications. The country has twenty-six airfields, of which eight have permanently surfaced runways. Pochentong International Airport near Phnom Penh is the largest airport. There are airfields in Kompong Som, Siem Reap, and in Battambang.

Cambodia's national airline, Air Cambodia, was established in 1982 and initially flew only one foreign route from Phnom Penh to Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam. Today Air Cambodia has foreign service to Hanoi (Vietnam), Vientiane (Laos), Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia), and Bangkok (Thailand).

Under the Ministry of Communications, the postal, telegraph, and telegram services were restored throughout the country in the early 1980s. Cambodia's national radio station, the Voice of the Kampuchean People, broadcasts regularly from Phnom Penh. The only television station began to broadcast in 1984. A satellite communications station was established in Phnom Penh in 1987 with assistance from the Soviet Union. This restored telephone links between Cambodia and other countries for the first time since 1975. These advances in communications in the 1980s greatly helped end Cambodia's isolation from the rest of the world.

Comprehension Check 7.2

Fill in the blanks

1. Cambodia's currency is the _____.
2. _____ is the mainstay of the economy.
3. The main item of domestic commerce was _____.
4. Currently, only _____ percent of Cambodia's roads and highways are covered with asphalt.
5. Cambodia's national radio station is the _____.

The Stalemate in Cambodia

The military situation in Cambodia had reached a stalemate by the late 1980s in a way that was not beneficial to any of the major parties involved. On one side, the PRK government tried to maintain control over territories and major population centers with the help of the 140,000 Vietnamese troops in the country. Opposing the PKR were three separate resistance factions. There were several efforts to bring the opposition into the PRK government, but the differing views of the opposition leaders prevented the successful formation of a united front.

The Khmer Rouge and other resistance forces were not militarily strong enough to confront the Vietnamese-PRK army in large-scale battles. They restricted themselves to small-scale skirmishes and the bombings of roads, bridges, and buildings. Such confrontations kept Cambodia in a perpetual state of instability throughout the 1980s. Meanwhile, the majority of the population suffered tremendously.

Having its troops in Cambodia was increasingly disadvantageous for Vietnam. It took up 40 to 50 percent of Vietnam's military budget and strongly hampered its economic advancement. On the diplomatic front, the United Nations (UN) repeatedly condemned the Vietnamese military presence in Cambodia, and most countries refused to recognize the PRK government. Most vehement in their protests were members of ASEAN who were alarmed at the strong Vietnamese presence in their region.

Vietnamese Withdrawal from Cambodia

From the early 1980s, partly due to the intense international pressure, the Vietnamese government repeatedly pledged to withdraw its troops from Cambodia. One reason that prevented the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops was the fear that the PRK military would be overrun by the resistance forces without Vietnamese support. In 1990 Vietnam began withdrawing most of its military forces from Cambodia.

Following the withdrawal, resistance groups stepped up their pressure on the government. They were able to gain some ground but could not completely dislodge the government despite several attempts. After extended consultations and negotiations with the United Nations, a power-sharing formula was agreed upon. According to this formula the power would be shared among the PRK government, and the three resistance factions. A United Nations peacekeeping force was deployed to supervise the disarmament of the resistance factions. In early 1992 Norodom Sihanouk returned to Cambodia to a mass welcome.

GLOSSARY

1. *draught*

The depth of water a ship draws, especially when it is loaded.

2. *GDP*

The gross domestic product (GDP) is the value of all goods and services produced within a country during a given period. It is a method used for measuring the nation's total economic performance in a single year.

3. *imperialist*

One who practices a policy or action by which one country controls another country. Such control is achieved most often to gain economic and political advantages.

4. *junk*

A wooden sailing vessel used in China or other Asian countries. Its bow (front) is broad and flat and its stern (rear) is broad and high. Junks are used to transport goods on rivers and seas. Most junks have two or three masts (poles that hold the sails).

5. *reactionary*

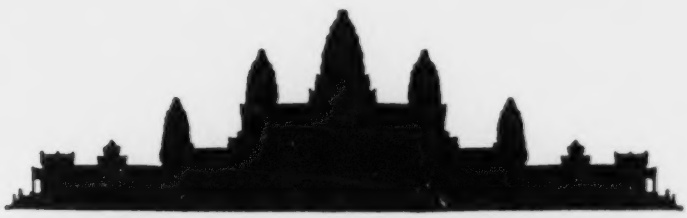
One who believes that the framework of traditional ideas and the institutions of the existing society have to be changed.

6. *sabotage*

Any means of wasting or damaging the tools, machinery, or production of the government; by means of violent or non-violent acts that lead to the disruption of public life, roads, railroads, bridges,or communications.

7. *socioeconomic*

The term relates to and involves a combination of social and economic factors in society.



Student Activity 1
Definitions

Define the following:

1. PRK

2. ASEAN

3. KPNLF

4. KNUFNS

5. GDP

6. FAO

7. UNHCR

8. WFP

Student Activity 2
True or False

____1. Laos was the first country to recognize the PRK government.

____2. The Vietnamese were welcomed in Cambodia by Thailand and the ASEAN nations.

____3. The lack of a sufficient number of qualified people hampered PRK government efforts to establish an effective administration.

____4. The resistance groups opposing the PRK government were always able to provide an effective and coordinated response.

____5. Elections to the National Assembly were held in 1981.

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice

1. After formation of the new government in 1979, the name of the country was changed to:

    a. Democratic Kampuchea
    b. Peoples Republic of Kampuchea
    c. Khmer Republic
    d. Peoples Democratic Republic of Kampuchea

2. Which of the following nations was not opposed to the Vietnamese in Cambodia?

    a. Thailand
    b. Indonesia
    c. Malaysia
    d. Soviet Union

3. The most influential leaders of the Peoples Republic of Cambodia were members of the:

    a. National Assembly
    b. Council of State
    c. Council of Ministers
    d. Judiciary

4. Currency was reintroduced in the country in:

    a. 1979
    b. 1980
    c. 1984
    d. 1985

5. The area of emphasis in the First Plan of Cambodia was:

    a. agriculture
    b. transportation
    c. industries
    d. fishing

6. The proportion of the Cambodian work force engaged in agriculture:

    a. 20%
    b. 40%
    c. 60%
    d. 80%

7. Which of the following is a major item of export for Cambodia:

    a. consumer goods
    b. machinery
    c. natural rubber
    d. cement

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice (cont.)

8. The total length of roads in Cambodia:

    a. has remained more or less the same in the last twenty years
    b. increased by 60% between 1969 and the late 1980s
    c. increased by 100% between 1969 and the late 1980s
    d. decreased between 1969 and the late 1980s

9. Which of these was not a group opposing the PRK government:

    a. Khmer Rouge
    b. Sihanouk supporters
    c. Khmer Peoples National Liberation Front
    d. Khmer Peoples Revolutionary Party

10. The disarmament of the resistance groups opposing the PRK government was to be supervised by:

    a. the US military
    b. Vietnam
    c. ASEAN multilateral forces
    d. United Nations Peacekeeping Force

Student Activity 4
Matching Columns

____1. *khet*	a. village
____2. *krong*	b. ward
____3. *srok*	c. solidarity group
____4. *khum*	d. currency
____5. *phum*	e. province
____6. *sangkat*	f. municipality
____7. *krom samaki*	g. district
____8. *riel*	h. commune

Student Activity 5
General Questions

1. What were the factors that hampered the PRK government's efforts to improve social and economic conditions in Cambodia?

2. Which were the three groups leading the opposition to the PRK government?

3. Briefly describe the structure of the government under the PRK administration.

4. What is a hybrid economy? How was the economic system under the PRK government a hybrid economy system?

5. What are Cambodia's main items of import and export? Has the country been running a trade surplus or a deficit?

6. Why did the number of kilometers of roads in Cambodia decline from the late 1960s to the late 1980s? How, in your opinion, did it affect the development of the country?

7. How how did the advances in communications in the 1980s help move Cambodia out of its state of isolation from the rest of the world?

8. Could the military situation in Cambodia in the late 1980s be described as a stalemate? Was this in the best interest of the Cambodian people? Why or why not?

9. Why was Vietnam reluctant to withdraw its troops from Cambodia? What were the factors that hastened the Vietnamese withdrawal in the late 1980s?

Student Activity 6
Group Project

Do you think it was in the interest of the countries of ASEAN to help in the peace negotiations of Cambodia? Do you think it was in their interest to assist Cambodia in the reconstruction of its economy, infrastructure, education and health care systems? Why or why not?

ANSWER KEY

Student Activity 1
Definition

1. PRK	Peoples Republic of Kampuchea
2. ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
3. KPNLF	Khmer Peoples National Liberation Front
4. KNUFNS	Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation
5. GDP	Gross Domestic Product
6. FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
7. UNHCR	United Nations High Commission on Refugees
8. WFP	World Food Program

Student Activity 2
True or False

1. F
2. F
3. T
4. F
5. T

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice

1. B
2. D
3. B
4. B
5. A
6. D
7. C
8. D
9. D
10. D

Student Activity 4
Matching Columns

1. E
2. F
3. G
4. G
5. A
6. B
7. C
8. D

CHAPTER 8

Cambodian Culture

The Individual

Cambodian culture has been influenced by Khmer, Indian, and French traditions. In addition, Hinduism and Theravada Buddhism have also played an important role in shaping this unique way of life.

The people's daily lives are influenced by a combination of all of these. For example, Hinduism orients the people towards a somewhat stratified society where an individual has a certain status within the society and where there exists a formal pattern of respect toward older people and those of royal blood or who hold high ranking positions.

Another set of values is derived from Theravada Buddhism. It stresses religious detachment from worldly affairs with the individual having responsibility for his/her own status in life and the possibility of changing that status through merit and *reincarnation*. Merit can be attained by service to the community or the nation, and adhering to basic rules of conduct. These rules emphasize the avoidance of causing suffering, self-discipline and self-improvement, humility, passivity, non-accumulation of wealth, and harmonious relationships with others.

A third set of values has originated from the cultural traditions of the French middle class which influenced Khmer society through government and education. This way of thinking allows an individual to raise his status in society through higher education or by other means of economic advancement. It stresses active achievement and accumulation of material wealth as a means of attaining personal and social objectives. This tradition is influential among a small segment of the population that has been exposed to Western education. It has not made a strong impression in the rural areas.

In Cambodia, the principle role of a leader in society is to lead his nation and its people to a state of continued prosperity and well-being. In turn, his followers are expected to support him in his goals to achieve the nation's objectives. Cambodians rarely negotiate

with their leaders or enter into discussions with firm goals. When conflicts cannot be resolved easily, the concerned parties react by withdrawing and the matter is left unresolved.

Discussion Point 8.1

What are the differences between leadership roles in Cambodian and American societies?

Personal independence is important but it is not thought of in the same way as in the United States. In the Cambodian culture, independence means freedom from commitment beyond a person's defined role in a given situation. Cambodians make a distinction between their formal roles in society and their informal roles in their private lives. For example, public and private roles are judged differently. Cambodians believe that individuals should adhere to the Buddhist code of personal conduct. Premarital chastity and marital *fidelity* are highly valued. Nonviolence, thrift, diligence, and self-discipline are stressed. The more a person can shape his or her conduct along these lines, the greater that person's achievement of religious merit, and the better his or her next life will be. Traditionally, Cambodians have felt little need to succeed materially. In their culture, adequate food and life's necessities for their friends and family are more important than material possessions.

The Family

The family is the basic social unit in Cambodian society. Rural communities often develop out of clusters of households with close relationships. A typical family consists of a married couple and their unmarried children. Often parents and grandparents live in the same household. The elderly are supported by their children as long as they live. Relationships between parents and children are precisely defined by traditions and law. Tradition places great emphasis on respect for those of senior age or status. The national law, that derives from this tradition, affirms the mutual obligations of parents and children regarding this type of maintenance and support.

Strengthened by religious beliefs, long traditions, and national law, the Cambodian family is a stable institution. Many times it is not financially possible for a newly married couple to establish a separate residence. In such cases, the couple lives temporarily with the parents of the husband or the wife. A married child frequently stays in the household to take care of the parents. The house then belongs to that couple upon the death of the parents. Ties between generations and related households are loose and informal. A couple is expected to give material or financial aid to needy parents and siblings of either spouse.

The birth of a child is a happy event for the family and a large family is considered a good thing. Children in the countryside are breast-fed up to two years of age and even more. Up to the age of three or four, the child is given considerable physical affection and care. After reaching the age of about four, however, children are expected to feed and bathe themselves.

Most children begin school when they are seven or eight. By the time they reach this age, they are familiar with the norms of politeness, obedience, and respect towards Buddhist monks and their elders. The father is regarded as the head of the household and his children must obey him. By the age of ten, a girl is expected to help her mother with the basic household tasks, while a boy tends the livestock and performs farm work under the supervision of older males in the family. Between the ages of eleven and nineteen when a boy may become a temple servant or even go on to serve time as a novice monk, he learns the holy scripture and the Buddhist codes of proper conduct. Having a son chosen for the position of novice monk is a great honor for parents and earns the son much merit.

Strict segregation of males and females is the social rule. After reaching the age of puberty, a girl must observe a month's period of seclusion called "the shadow month". The shadow month is the month before her marriage. During this period she is confined to her home and eats only vegetarian foods. The main exception to the rule of segregation of males and females occurs during festivals, especially the New Year Festival, when boys and girls take part in group games. Young people then have the opportunity to look for future

husbands and wives. Premarital sex is deplored in Cambodian society, and pregnancies out of wedlock brings shame to the girl's family.

Marriage

Although young people in the same community see each other occasionally and have opportunities to become acquainted, dating, as it is known in the United States, is not acceptable. Adolescents most often have little choice in the selection of their marriage partners. It remains a general rule, especially in the rural areas, that it is the parents' duty to select a mate for their son or daughter. The subject of marriage is often initiated with the help of a matchmaker. Both family investigates the other to make sure their child is marrying into a good family. When both sides have agreed to the marriage, and gifts have been presented and accepted, the families consult an *achar* (a traditional leader) to set the wedding date.

The traditional wedding is a long and colorful affair. The ceremony, directed by the *achar*, begins in the morning at the home of the bride. Buddhist priests offer a short sermon and recite prayers of blessing. Parts of the ceremony involve *ritual* hair cutting, tying cotton threads soaked in holy water around the bride's and groom's wrists, and passing a candle around a circle of respectable married couples to bless the union. After the wedding ceremony a banquet is held. In urban areas, the banquet is held at a restaurant while in rural areas, it is held in a temporary shelter with food prepared by the two families. Traditionally, newlyweds move in with the wife's parents and may live with them up to a year or until the couple can build a house nearby. Though divorce is legal and relatively easy to obtain, it is not a common practice and is looked down upon.

The husband is responsible for providing food and shelter for all members of his family. In rural families, he does the principle work of preparing the soil, seeding, cultivating, and harvesting the crops. The pattern in urban areas is different, but the major responsibility of family support is still placed upon the husband. The wife has considerable authority, especially over the family's financial matters. She is in charge of the family

budget and serves as a model of good behavior and religious piety for her children, especially her daughters. In the rural areas, both husband and wife work in the operations of their farm.

Death

Death is viewed as the end of one life and the beginning of another that it is hoped will be better. There is no great outward expression of grief at funerals. Cambodian Buddhist are usually *cremated*, and their ashes are deposited in a *stupa* in the temple compound. The spouse and the children of the deceased indicate they are in mourning by shaving their heads and wearing white clothing.

Housing

In rural areas a house is typically constructed of a wooden frame with a gabled thatched roof and walls of woven bamboo. Family members and neighbors work together to build the house. Houses of poorer individuals may have only a single large room. The houses are typically raised on *stilts*, as high as ten feet, to provide protection from annual flooding. Two ladders, or wooden staircases provide access to the house. The sloped thatch roof overhanging the house walls protects the interior from rain. A house usually contains three rooms separated by partitions of woven bamboo. The front room serves as a common area used to receive visitors. The next room is the parents' quarters, and the third is for unmarried daughters. Sons generally sleep anywhere, except in the same quarters as their sisters. Food is prepared in a separate kitchen located near the back of the house. Toilet facilities consist of simple pits in the ground. They are located away from the house and are covered up when filled. Any livestock is kept below the house.

Diet

Dietary habits are basically the same among all ethnic groups in Cambodia, with the exception of the Muslim Chams who do not eat pork. The basic foods are rice, of several varieties, fish, especially *trakuon* (water convolvulus), and vegetables. In Cambodia rice is less thoroughly milled than in other rice-eating countries, and thus provides more vitamins and *roughage*. Before 1970, daily rice consumption averaged one-half kilogram (just over

one pound) per person. Protein in the diet is provided by fermented fish made into a sauce or paste. Hot peppers, lemongrass, mint, and ginger are used in the preparation of food; sugar is added to many dishes. The basic diet is supplemented by fruits such as bananas, mangoes, and papayas, all of which grow abundantly in the country. Beef, pork, poultry, and eggs are added to meals on special occasions. Diet in urban areas include many Western food items.

Rural Cambodians eat several times a day. The first meal consists of a piece of fruit or cake, which the workers eat after arriving at the fields. Their first full meal is eaten around nine or ten in the morning. It is prepared by the wife or daughter and brought to the men in the field. Around noon workers have a large meal in the field. They have dinner with their families at home around five o'clock.

The food supply in Cambodia deteriorated after 1970. During the Khmer Rouge era there was widespread *malnutrition*. The food situation improved under the government of Peoples Republic of Kampuchea, although there were still food shortages in the early 1980s.

Attire

The traditional Cambodian attire consists of a shirt or blouse, and a skirt-like lower garment called *sampot* for women, and *sarong* for men. The tube-shaped garment is usually about three feet wide and as much as ten feet in *circumference*. It is made of cotton or silk in various styles and patterns, and worn pulled over the legs and fastened around the waist. On ceremonial occasions, elegant *sampot* and *sarong*, embroidered with gold and silver threads, may be worn with a long piece of material that is wrapped around the waist, passed between the legs, and then tucked into the waistband in the back. In the urban areas people often wear Western-style clothing at work and more traditional clothing at home.

In the countryside working men often wear loose-fitting pants and shirts. A third essential part of the Khmer dress is the *krama*, a long scarf, that is worn around the neck, or wrapped turban style around the head. School children wear Western-style clothing to school. The boys wear shirts and shorts, while girls wear skirts and blouses. Schools usually require students to wear uniforms.

Social Class and Mobility

Before the advent of communism, the social hierarchy in Cambodia consisted of an elite group at one end of the spectrum and a rural group at the other end. The elite group was composed of members of the royal family, wealthy landowners, high-ranking government and military officials, and religious leaders. Before the overthrow of Sihanouk in 1970, the highest ranks of the government were filled with those born into the elite class. In 1970 the new government of Lon Nol abolished all royal and noble titles. As a result, senior military officers, some of whom were from royal families, became the most influential group in the country.

Before 1970 the middle of the social strata was a small group which included both Khmers and non-Khmers of moderate prestige. Members of this class included businessmen, teachers, physicians, most of the Buddhist clergy, shopkeepers, and lower ranked military officers. Many Chinese, Vietnamese, and members of other ethnic minorities belonged to this "middle-class". The class below the middle-class consisted of rural farmers, fishermen, craftsmen, and factory workers; the majority of the people belonged to this group. This lower class was virtually isolated from the minority of people in the urban middle and upper classes.

Social mobility opportunities to raise a person's social status, occur only in urban areas. There has been little opportunity among rural Cambodians to change their social status. The only way a person could achieve a higher status was by entering the monkhood, or by acquiring an education and then entering the military or civil service. The availability of such positions did not keep pace with the number of educated individuals and was a main cause of widespread dissatisfaction in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Holidays and Festivals

Holidays and festivals are deeply treasured by Cambodians. Their general attitude is reflected in the way they celebrate their holidays and festivals. The celebrations are filled with costumes, lights, floats, and parades. Singing, music, and dancing are enjoyed, and

fireworks are a feature of every festival. According to tradition, April is the first month of the year and the major festival in Cambodia is the New Year celebration. The festivities last for three days, usually beginning on the thirteenth of April. The actual date and time of the arrival of the New Year are determined by an astrologer. While preparing to welcome the New Year, most people spend their time cleaning and decorating their homes because they believe this will dispel any evil that may fall upon them. Small altars holding pots of flowers, some candles, and joss sticks are placed in front of each house to welcome in the New Year.

The first day of the New Year is called *Sangkran*. Just before the beginning of the New Year, candles and incense are lit and family members come to the altar to make wishes. On the second day, *Vannabad*, people build small sand mounds inside the pagodas and pray for prosperity and happiness. On the third day, *Laeung Sak*, the old and young gather at the temple to wash the statues of Buddha. They also bathe their parents and grandparents to show their gratitude. In the countryside the New Year festivities last for up to one full month. The New Year is the time to pray and plan for a better life in the upcoming year. It is also time to visits one's relatives and friends.

There are three other official Buddhist holidays. The first one, *Meak Bochia*, occurs in January or February and commemorates the last sermon of the Buddha. The second, *Pisak Bochia*, occurs in April or May and is the triple anniversary of the Buddha's birth, enlightenment, and entry into *nirvana*. Another important Buddhist ceremony, *Prachum Ben*, is held in September or October and lasts for three or four days. At this time offerings are made to the monks for the benefit of the dead. In addition to these holidays there is the season of *Kathen* in October or November, during which the people bring gifts to the monks and the pagoda.

Ethnic Groups

Cham

The Chams are descendants of refugees from the kingdom of Champa, which once ruled Vietnam. In 1471 Champa was conquered by the Vietnamese, and many Chams fled to Cambodia. They settled along the Tonle Sap and the Mekong rivers. Some time before the seventeenth century the Chams in Cambodia and Vietnam converted to Islam as a result of contact with the Chams from Malaysia, who had embraced Islam centuries before. Though relations between Cambodians and the Chams have been congenial through the centuries, there has been little intermarriage between them and the Cambodians because of religious restrictions placed upon the Chams.

The Chams typically live in the villages inhabited only by other Chams. The villages may be built along the shores of waterways and are called *play krong* (river villages), or they may be built further inland and are called *play ngok* (upper villages). The inhabitants of river villages engage in fishing, rice cultivation, or grow vegetables, especially onions. They trade fish to the local Cambodians for rice. The Cham women earn money by weaving, and those living in upper villages support themselves by working metal and growing fruit trees or vegetables. The Chams often serve as butchers and slaughter cattle for their Cambodian neighbors.

Their attire is distinct from those of the Cambodians. The main item of clothing for both sexes is a sarong-like garment called a *batik*, which is worn knotted at the waist. Men wear shirts over their *batik*, and women wear close-fitting blouses that are open at the throat with tight sleeves. The characteristic headdress is a turban or a scarf. Cham society is *matriarchal* and people trace their line of descent through the mother's side of the family (matrilineal). Parents allow their daughters a considerable amount of freedom of choice in marriage, and girl's parents usually make overtures to the boy. The Cham marriage is a simple occasion. The girl's parents ask the groom if he accepts their daughter in marriage, and he is expected to answer yes. The *Imam* (Muslim religious leader) acts as a witness at

the wedding ceremony. This simple ceremony is then followed by a feast. Because it is a matrilocal society, the groom goes to live with his wife's family. In this system, females inherit the family property.

Discussion Point 8.2

Discuss the meaning of the terms "matriarchal", "matrilocal", and "matrilineal". What other cultures, past or present, are based on this family/kinship system?

Khmer Loeu

The Khmer Loeu (Highland Khmer) are the non-Khmer highland tribes in Cambodia. The term, Khmer Loeu, was coined by the government in the 1960s to create a feeling of unity among the highland tribal groups and the ruling ethnic Khmers. Traditionally, the Cambodians have referred to these groups as *phnong* which means "uncivilized" in Khmer. The Khmer Loeu come from diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. They form the majority of the population in Rotanokiri and Mondol Kiri provinces, and are also present in substantial numbers in Kracheh and Stoeng Trengh provinces. Their total population is estimated at 100,000.

Most Khmer Loeu live in scattered temporary villages that have only a few hundred inhabitants. These villages are usually governed by a council of local elders or by a village headman. The Khmer Loeu cultivate a wide variety of plants, but the main crop is dry or upland rice grown by the slash and burn method. Hunting, fishing, and gathering supplement the Khmer Loeu diet. Houses vary from huge multi-family longhouses to small single-family structures. They may be built close to the ground or on stilts. The major Khmer Loeu groups in Cambodia are the Kuy, Mnong, Stieng, Brao, Pear, Jarai, and Rade.

Discussion Point 8.3

How is the environment affected by slash and burn methods of agriculture? Why can't these methods be practiced on a large scale?

Chinese

From the late 1960s to the late 1970s the Chinese emerged as Cambodia's largest ethnic minority group. During that time about sixty percent of the Chinese were urban dwellers who engaged in trade or commerce. The remaining forty percent were rural residents who worked as shopkeepers and buyers and processors of rice, palm sugar, fruit, and fish, or as moneylenders. A 1963 study estimated that as much as ninety percent of the Chinese in Cambodia were involved in commerce.

There are five major linguistic groups among the Chinese community in Cambodia. This distinction has been important historically in the treatment of the Chinese in Cambodia. During their rule of Cambodia, the French used a system of classification devised by the Vietnamese Emperor Gia Long (1802-1820) to classify the local Chinese according to the areas of origin and *dialect*. These groups were called *bang* (or *congregations* by the French) and had their own leaders responsible for law, order, and tax collection. In those days every Chinese was required to belong to a *bang*. The head of the *bang*, known as the *Ong bang*, was elected by popular vote and functioned as the intermediary between the members of the *bang* and the local government. The government terminated this administrative system of the Chinese community in 1958.

Relations between the Chinese and ethnic Khmer were generally stable. As a result intermarriage between the groups was frequent, thus creating a sizable population of Sino-Khmer people. The Khmer Rouge years (1975-78) had a great impact on the Chinese community. Retail trade was eliminated by the government, which meant a loss of livelihood for most of the Chinese. As a result of warfare and persecution by the Vietnamese and the Khmers, only about 350,000 Chinese remained in Cambodia by 1990. In the subsequent years many Chinese emigrated from Cambodia.

Comprehension Check 8.1

Fill in the blanks

1. There was widespread _____ during the Khmer Rouge era.
2. Teachers in Cambodia belonged to the _____ class.
3. The Chams converted to Islam in the _____ century.
4. Most Khmer Loeu live in _____ villages.
5. The main crop grown by the Khmer Loeu is _____.

The Vietnamese

As we have read earlier, animosity has existed between Cambodia and Vietnam for centuries. A primary reason for the conflict between these nations is the historic expansionist policies of Vietnam, which often resulted in territorial loss for Cambodia. Another reason is because the French during the era of their rule granted most of the civil service positions to the Vietnamese.

GLOSSARY

1. *circumference*

The length of the curve of a circle.

2. *cremation*

The disposal of a corpse by fire.

3. *dialect*

A variation of a language used by a particular group of speakers.

4. *fidelity*

Faithful to a marriage partner.

5. *Imam*

A Muslim religious leader. He is the prayer leader of a mosque.

6. *malnutrition*

An unhealthy condition that results when the body does not get enough nutritious food.

7. *matriarchal*

Refers to a family in which the mother is the head of the household. In the context of the present chapter, it refers to a society in which women are the heads of the household, family, or society.

8. *nirvana*

The process of reincarnation continues until through good deeds and moral conduct, a person finally achieves a state of spiritual perfection called salvation. Buddhists call this stae nirvana.

9. *reincarnation*

The belief that the soul survives after death and is reborn into the body of another person, or some other living thing.

10. *ritual*

An act or ceremony by which people appeal to and serve God, deities, or other sacred powers.

11. *roughage*

Food containing high amounts of dietary fiber-like whole grains.

GLOSSARY (cont.)

12. *stilt*

Post serving to raise a building above the water level.

13. *stupa*

A hemispherical or cylindrical mound or tower that is artificially constructed of earth, brick, or stone. It is a memorial shrine of the Buddha.

Student Activity 1
True or False

____1. The value system in Cambodia has been strongly influenced by Mahayana Buddhism.

____2. Cambodians believe in reincarnation.

____3. In Cambodian culture merit can be attained by the accumulation of wealth.

____4. Cambodians make a distinction between their formal and informal roles in society.

____5. In traditional society the father assumes an authoritative role towards his children.

____6. Integration of males and females in social settings is permissible.

____7. Marriage in Cambodian society is often initiated with the help of a matchmaker.

____8. Upon death, Buddhist Khmers are usually buried.

____9. Rural houses typically have large flat roofs.

____10. Wheat is the staple food in the Cambodian diet.

____11. It is relatively easy for a person in Cambodian society to elevate his/her status.

____12. Most Chams aré Muslim.

____13. The Khmer Loeu are all a part of a single ethnic group.

____14. The Khmer Loeu constitute a majority of the population in the Rotanokiri and Mondol Kiri provinces.

____15. There has been some intermarriage between the Chinese and Cambodians.

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice

1. The basic social unit of Cambodian society is:

    a. the individual
    b. the family
    c. the village
    d. the tribe

2. The traditional wedding:

    a. is a simple ceremony
    b. follows a period of dating
    c. is a long and colorful affair
    d. does not require parental consent

3. Divorce in Cambodia is:

    a. legal, easy, and common
    b. legal but hard to obtain
    c. illegal
    d. legal, easy, but rare

4. Death in Cambodian culture is viewed as:

    a. an occasion to express an outpouring of grief
    b. the beginning of another life
    c. a moment of great sadness
    d. a punishment for a person's sins

5. Which of the following is typical of Cambodian houses in the countryside:

    a. raised on stilts as much as ten feet high
    b. face the north
    c. built with large kitchens
    d. require virtually no maintenance

6. Where is livestock kept in rural homes:

    a. in the barn
    b. in the fields or under trees
    c. in a separate enclosure next to the house
    d. below the house

7. What is the main source of protein for Cambodians:

    a. rice
    b. legumes
    c. fish
    d. meats

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice (cont.)

8. Before the advent of communism most Cambodians belonged to the:

   a. middle class
   b. upper class
   c. lower class
   d. merchant class

9. Among the majority of rural Cambodians, opportunities to change their social status are:

   a. very easy
   b. relatively difficult
   c. few and far between
   d. none of the above

10. The Cham:

    a. are refugees from Thailand
    b. are descendants of the Vietnamese
    c. have been at odds with the Cambodians
    d. are descendants from refugees from the fallen kingdom of Champa

11. Cham society is:

    a. patriarchal
    b. matriarchal
    c. oppressive
    d. none of the above

12. The Khmer Loeu:

    a. are mainly hunter-gatherers
    b. trace their roots back several generations
    c. live in big villages
    d. come from diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds

13. Most of the Chinese in Cambodia engage in:

    a. trade and commerce
    b. agriculture
    c. arts and crafts
    d. teaching

14. Which of the following statements is true:

    a. relations between Cambodia and Vietnam have been congenial
    b. Vietnamese expansionist policies created tensions between Cambodia.
    c. there is a lot of intermarriage between the Vietnamese and the Cambodians
    d. none of the above

Student Activity 3
Matching Columns

____1. the family	a. upper villages
____2. *achar*	b. river villages
____3. *trakuon*	c. men's lower garments
____4. *sampot*	d. Khmer Loeu group
____5. *sarong*	e. water convolvulus
____6. *play krong*	f. a traditional Buddhist leader
____7. *play ngok*	g. basic social unit of Cambodian society
____8. *batik*	h. Chinese congregation
____9. *kuy*	i. women's lower garment
____10. *bang*	j. main item of clothing for the Chams

Student Activity 4
General Questions

1. Discuss the influence of Hinduism and Theravada Buddhism on Cambodian society.

2. What are some differences between the Cambodian and the American conception of individual freedom?

3. Describe the process of finding a marriage partner for a young Cambodian man or woman.

4. What are the roles of a husband and wife in traditional Cambodian society?

5. Describe the construction of a Cambodian house in the countryside.

6. What are the main items in the Cambodian diet? How does the diet in Cambodia differ from the American diet?

7. Describe the class structure in Cambodia. Compare it with the class structure in America. In your opinion, which society has more social mobility?

8. Why did the population of Chinese decline from the 1960s to the 1980s?

9. What are the reasons for the animosity that exists between Vietnam and Cambodia?

Student Activity 5
Group Projects

1. We have read that the Chams have a matriarchal system. Name some other societies that have a matriarchal system? In your opinion, which system is more efficient, a matriarchal system or a patriarchal one? Explain.

2. The Khmer Loeu practice slash and burn agriculture. What other societies use this system? Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of this method.

ANSWER KEY

Student Activity 1
True or False

1. F 6. F 11. F
2. T 7. T 12. T
3. F 8. F 13. F
4. T 9. F 14. T
5. T 10. F 15. T

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice

1. B 6. D 11. B
2. C 7. C 12. D
3. D 8. C 13. A
4. B 9. C 14. B
5. A 10. D

Student Activity 3
Matching Columns

1. G 6. B
2. F 7. A
3. E 8. J
4. I 9. D
5. C 10. H

CHAPTER 9

Language and Education

Language

Khmer, the official language of Cambodia, is spoken by both Khmers and non-Khmers. Ethnic Khmers living in Thailand, Vietnam, and Laos speak dialects of Khmer that are more or less *intelligible* to Khmer speakers from Cambodia. Other languages spoken in the country include Vietnamese, Cham, several dialects of Chinese, and the languages of the Khmer Loeu. Khmer belongs to the Mon-Khmer family of Austroasiatic languages. Included in this same family of language is the Mon language spoken in Burma, Vietnamese, and hundreds of languages and dialects spoken throughout mainland Southeast Asia. Of the languages in the Mon-Khmer linguistic family, Khmer has the largest number of speakers (approximately eight million).

Due to its historical ties to Indian culture, the Khmer language has words derived from Sanskrit. With the arrival of Theravada Buddhism in the thirteenth century, Pali, the sacred Theravadian language, was borrowed in a similar fashion. Khmer uses Sanskrit and Pali roots as much as English uses Latin and Greek roots to derive new words, especially scientific words. Khmer has also borrowed terms, particularly financial, commercial, and cuisine words from Chinese. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Khmer borrowed words from French as well. These latter borrowings are primarily related to modern material items, for example, *buuzil* (spark plug) from the French word *bougie*.

Unlike Vietnamese and Lao, Khmer is a non-tonal language. A tonal language is one in which the pitch levels, called tones, change the *lexical* meaning of a word. In a non-tonal language pitch levels do not have an influence on the meaning of a word. Like Lao and Vietnamese, Khmer is an inflected language. In an inflected language, the grammatical formation of a word does not change the meaning of a word. The word remains the same whether it expresses the singular or the plural, the past tense or the present tense. There are no plural endings like 's' or past tense endings like 'ed'. The concept of singular and plural or

past and present tense is derived from the context in which the words are used, or by adding other words. Khmer has four sets of vocabulary: one used by people of equal status, one used when speaking to superiors, one used when addressing monks, and one used when addressing members of the royal family. These levels of speech reflect the richness of the language, as well as the stratification of Cambodian society.

Discussion Point 9.1

Is English a tonal or an inflected language?

The Khmer alphabet originated in Southern India around the sixth century and was introduced to Cambodia, along with other aspects of Indian culture, during the Chenla period. There are thirty-three consonant symbols, twenty-four dependent vowel symbols, and twelve independent vowel symbols. Like English, it is written from left to right and from top to bottom. There are two writing styles of Khmer; the *chrieng* characters (cuneiform) for everyday use such as in textbooks, newspapers, or official documents, the *mul* characters (cursive) for stylized texts such as sacred works. Efforts were made by the French administration to Romanize the Khmer writing system. No uniform system was agreed upon and resistance came mainly from religious groups. Members of the religious community felt that Romanization would eliminate the traditional and sacred methods of teaching.

Austronesian

Austronesian languages are spoken all over Asia and the Pacific, from Madagascar to Easter Island, and from Taiwan to Malaysia. The four Austronesian languages spoken in Cambodia are Cham, Jarai, Rade, and Malay. Cham is spoken by the largest number of people and has two mutually related dialects, Western Cham and Eastern Cham. Western Cham is spoken in Cambodia and inland Vietnam, whereas Eastern Cham is spoken in the

coastal areas of central Vietnam. Before 1975 there were about 100,000 speakers of Western Cham. Western Cham is written in an Arabic script, and since the late 1960s in a Romanized script devised by Protestant missionaries. The traditional Cham script is based on an Indian script still used by the Eastern Cham in Vietnam.

The Cham language is non-tonal. Words usually contain one, two, or three syllables. Cham contains many linguistic borrowings from Arabic, Malay, and Khmer. Rade and Jarai, close relatives of Cham, are written in Romanized script and spoken by several thousand members of both ethnic groups in northeastern Cambodia.

Education

Traditionally, educational training in Cambodia was for the purpose of transcribing Buddhist scriptures. Students were almost entirely young boys and education was administered by priests at the local *Wat* (temple). During the period of the French protectorate, an educational system based on the French model was implemented alongside the traditional system. Before World War II, a primary objective of the French administration was to educate Cambodians to become civil service employees. After independence in 1954, the goal of the Cambodian government was to train enough staff to fill administrative positions, as well as posts in the industrial and business sectors.

Comprehension Check 9.1
Fill in the blanks

1. The official language of Cambodia is _____.
2. The Mon language is spoken in _____.
3. Khmer is a _____ and _____ language.
4. The two writing styles of Khmer are _____ and _____.
5. Of the Austronesian languages in Cambodia, _____ is the most widely spoken.

Before the French system was introduced, monks provided education training at the *Wat*. Several primary schools existed throughout the country for Buddhist religious instruction. Students could compete for admission into the Buddhist *lycees*. Graduates of

these *lycees* could sit for the entrance exam to the Buddhist University in Phnom Penh. From the early twentieth century until 1975, the school system operated on the French model. The educational system was divided into primary, secondary, higher, and specialized levels. The Ministry of Education assumed full control and supervision over all aspects of the educational system by establishing educational policies and standards. Primary education, divided into two cycles of three years each, was carried out in state-run and temple run schools. As stated in the constitution of 1954, primary education was compulsory.

All primary public schools were free of charge. Successful completion of a final state examination led to the award of a certificate after each cycle. The primary education curriculum included arithmetic, history, ethics, civics, drafting, and geography. Khmer was the language of instruction in the first cycle but French was used in the second cycle and thereafter. After national independence, French instruction was no longer a required part of the curriculum but was still taught from the seventh grade. Statistics show that there were more than 5,000 public primary schools with student enrollment close to one million (out of an estimated total population of seven million).

Secondary education consisted of seven years of education which were divided into a four-year cycle, followed by a three-year cycle. The second cycle of secondary education was also divided into two parts, the first part consisting of two years and the second of a one year cycle, students were required to take a state examination for their first secondary diploma.

The examination system was very selective. The proportion of passing candidates was between ten and twenty percent for any one year. Students who failed at exams had to repeat the class, or were expelled from school if they had repeated the same level once before. The French style examination lasted from several days to a week. Students who failed at the first session were allowed to go through a make-up session at the end of the summer vacation. *Vocational* schools were designed to train high school students to become

technicians. Students specialized in fields such as electricity, automobile mechanics, masonry, machine shop, and carpentry. Advanced technical training was also provided by the universities.

Higher education lagged well behind primary education until the late 1950s. The only facility for higher education in the country, before the 1960s, was the National Institute for Legal, Political and Economic Studies which trained civil servants. Wealthy individuals and those who had government scholarships sought educational training abroad. Many students attended schools in France, but after independence increasing number of students enrolled at universities in the United States, Canada, China, the Soviet Union, and East Germany.

By 1970 there were six universities in Cambodia with a total enrollment of over 9,000. The largest institution, the University of Phnom Penh, had nearly 4,570 male students and more than 730 female students in eight departments. Universities operated in the provinces of Kompong Cham, Takeo, and Battambang. In Phnom Penh, the University of Agricultural Sciences and the University of Fine Arts also offered training.

Comprehension Check 9.2
Fill in the blanks

1. Education was traditionally handled by the local _____.
2. From the beginning of the century of 1975, all aspects of education were under the control of the _____.
3. A school offering the entire seven-year program of secondary instruction is called a _____.
4. By 1970 there were _____ universities in Cambodia.

Private schools were operated primarily by minority groups such as the French, Chinese, Vietnamese, Catholics, and Muslims in order to make it possible for their children to study in their own language or the language they preferred. Attendance at some of the private schools, especially in Phnom Penh, provided prestige for the student and his family. Private secondary education was represented by several high schools, notably the Lycee

Descartes in Phnom Penh. School enrollment steadily increased from independence until 1975. In the first few years after independence the government put stress on enhancing primary education. In the 1960s, the focus shifted to secondary education. During those years, Cambodia faced an acute shortage of school teachers, schools, and equipment. The government was unable to allocate enough money in the national budget to finance education. Moreover, teaching was no longer a highly regarded profession because of the low salary.

Teaching methods relied heavily on standardized techniques rather than the development of independent thinking. Classrooms suffered overcrowding and though most schools were co-educational, males and females did not sit at the same table. Students were expected to show respect and obedience to their teachers. They rarely volunteered to answer questions, but instead, waited to be called upon by their teachers. Codes of proper behavior were very rigid and students could be suspended temporarily, even permanently, for poor behavior.

Education experienced a sharp decline during the Khmer Rouge years. The great accomplishments in education and literacy in the two decades following Cambodia's independence from France were eradicated. Schools were closed down and educated people and teachers were subjected to harsh treatment or executed. In 1980, after the Khmer Rouge were driven from power, there were roughly 5,000 teachers in Cambodia, a drastic decline from more than 20,000 teachers a decade earlier. An entire generation of Cambodian children grew up illiterate under the Khmer Rouge. By the time the Khmer Rouge were driven out, illiteracy had risen to more than forty percent and the entire educational system had to be recreated from scratch. The state of education improved slowly under the PRK government, and most of the universities were reopened.

GLOSSARY

1. *cursive*

   A style of printed letters imitating handwriting.

2. *intelligible*

   Capable of being understood or comprehended.

3. *lexical*

   Relating to words.

4. *vocational*

   Vocational education prepares individuals for an occupation that does not require a university degree. Courses are taught in areas such as agriculture, business, trade, and industry, health science, home economics, and other technical fields.

Student Activity 1
Map Exercises

Identify the following on a world map:

1. Madagascar
2. Australia
3. Areas where the Mon-Khmer family of languages is spoken
4. Areas where the Austronesian family of languages is spoken

Student Activity 2
True or False

____1. Khmer is the official language of Cambodia.

____2. Of the languages of the Mon-Khmer family, Khmer is the most widely used.

____3. Khmer is a tonal language.

____4. Khmer is written from left to right and from top to bottom.

____5. Resistance to the Romanization of the Khmer writing system came from French.

____6. Since the late 1960s, Western Cham is written in a Romanized script.

____7. The education system set up by the French was oriented towards training soldiers.

____8. Primary education was compulsory according to the constitution of 1954.

____9. The drop-out rate from the primary to secondary stage of education was high.

____10. People from wealthy backgrounds sought higher education abroad.

____11. In the years after independence, Cambodia rarely had a shortage of teachers.

____12. Teaching was not a prestigious career in Cambodia after independence.

____13. The teaching methods encouraged students to ask questions.

____14. The Khmer Rouge years increased illiteracy in Cambodia.

____15. Education under the PRK government was modeled after the Vietnamese system.

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice

1. Which of the following languages is spoken most widely in Cambodia:

   a. Khmer
   b. Sanskrit
   c. Pali
   d. Vietnamese

2. Which of the following languages is presently not spoken in Cambodia:

   a. Vietnamese
   b. Cham
   c. Rade
   d. Pali

3. Which of the following languages has influenced Khmer the most:

   a. Chinese
   b. Vietnamese
   c. Sanskrit
   d. French

4. Which of the following expressions is correct about the Khmer language:

   a. tonal and inflected
   b. non-tonal and inflected
   c. non-tonal and non-inflected
   d. tonal and non-inflected

5. The Khmer alphabet was introduced into Cambodia:

   a. before the second century AD
   b. during the Chenla period
   c. during the Funan period
   d. during the Angkor period

6. How many sets of vocabulary does Khmer have:

   a. one
   b. two
   c. three
   d. four

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice (cont.)

7. Which are the major Austronesian languages spoken in Cambodia:

   a. Cham, Pali, and Malay
   b. Cham, Jarai, and Rade
   c. Cham, Rade, Jurai, and Malay
   d. Cham, Rade, Jarai, and Mon

8. The educational system under the French was geared towards:

   a. training students to be soldiers
   b. training civil service employees for the colonial administration
   c. training people for the industrial and business sectors
   d. training students to be monks

9. In 1970 primary school enrollment in Cambodia was:

   a. close to 100,000
   b. close to 500,000
   c. close to 1 million
   d. close to 2 million

10. A school offering the entire seven-year program of secondary education is a:

    a. *lycee*
    b. college
    c. *Wat*
    c. university

11. The proportion of students passing secondary examinations was:

    a. 10-20%
    b. 20-30%
    c. 25-30%
    d. 35%

12. After independence most schools:

    a. were in the cities
    b. were segregated by gender
    c. charged a high tuition
    d. were co-educational

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice (cont.)

13. Teaching methods in Cambodian schools:

    a. stressed development of independent thinking
    b. encouraged students to ask questions
    c. relied a lot on standard techniques
    d. stressed math and science

14. Education suffered during the Khmer Rouge years because:

    a. there was no money for the maintenance and upkeep of the schools
    b. teachers and intellectuals were imprisoned or executed
    c. there were no resources to print educational materials
    d. students were more interested in the revolution than in education

15. Under the PRK government, the educational system was patterned on the model of:

    a. France
    b. Vietnam
    c. China
    d. Thailand

Student Activity 4
Matching Columns

____1. Khmer	a. print
____2. *mul*	b. school offering a seven-year program
____3. *bougie*	c. government focused on education
____4. *chrieng*	d. spoken in inland Vietnam
____5. Eastern Cham	e. most widely spoken language in Mon-Khmer family
____6. *lycee*	f. cursive writing style
____7. college	g. private high school in Phnom Penh
____8. Lycee Descartes	h. school offering a four-year program
____9. 1960s	i. French for spark plug

Student Activity 5
General Questions

1. What are the major languages of Cambodia?

2. Identify the languages in the Mon-Khmer family.

3. Describe the influence of other languages on Khmer.

4. Describe the Khmer alphabet and the writing system.

5. Why is it said that Khmer has four sets of vocabulary?

6. Identify the languages in the Austronesian family.

7. What were the reasons for the high drop-out rate from the primary to secondary stages of education in Cambodia?

8. Describe the teaching methods practiced in Cambodian schools. Compare and contrast them with methods practiced in your school.

9. How did the Khmer Rouge years affect education in Cambodia?

Student Activity 6
Group Projects

1. Outline the differences between primary and secondary educational systems of Cambodia and the US; include the teaching methods used in these two countries. Now form two groups and debate the advantages and disadvantages of each of these systems. Which system is better? Why?

2. We have read that there was a high drop-out rate between the primary and secondary school levels in Cambodia. What is the drop-out rate in the US? Compare the reasons for the high drop-out rate of these two countries.

ANSWER KEY

Student Activity 2
True or False

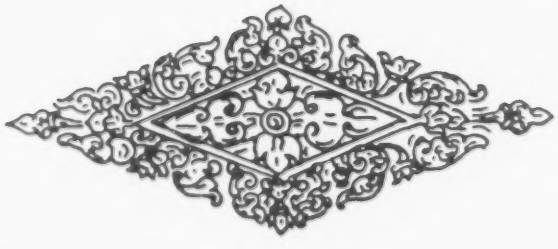
1. T 6. T 11. F
2. T 7. F 12. T
3. F 8. T 13. F
4. T 9. T 14. T
5. F 10. T 15. T

Student Activity 3
Multiple Choice

1. A 6. D 11. A
2. D 7. C 12. D
3. C 8. B 13. C
4. B 9. C 14. B
5. B 10. A 15. B

Student Activity 4
Matching Columns

1. E 6. B
2. F 7. H
3. I 8. G
4. A 9. C
5. D



CHAPTER 10

Art and Culture

Cambodian art is considered to be the most desired in all of Southeast Asia. Derived mainly from Indian culture, Khmer art progressed through phases that are directly related to the events of Cambodian history. The temples of Angkor are not the only examples of the magnificence of Khmer art. Stone monuments, *steles*, temples, and statuaries in Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Malaysia demonstrate the spread of the Khmer civilization.

Ancient Architecture

Ancient Khmer architecture usually reflected religious elements. Of the structures that still remain in Cambodia today, almost all were constructed after the seventh century. Each religious center was once a tower temple that was covered with terraces. With the passing of time, the design of tower temples became more and more complex as sophisticated mathematical configurations influenced their construction. The peak of ancient Khmer architecture was the construction of Angkor Wat in the first part of the twelfth century. Originally, the temples were built from bricks that were bonded together. From the end of the tenth century, however, sandstone replaced bricks and throughout the eleventh century, sandstone was used exclusively as a building material.

Architectural decorations played a major role in Khmer art. Their evolution through time has enabled scientists to accurately date historic buildings. Sandstone and other building materials were carved into *lintels* and *pediments*, exposing a wide range of images of human figures, deities, and animals. From the early period to the thirteenth century, paths, steps, and terraces provided access to the temple complexes. The chief subjects of modern sculpture are images of the Buddha, *naga* (dragons with cobra heads), and *apsaras* (female dancers) which are derived from ancient Khmer style and made of marble.

Most statues are made of sandstone. Bronze images are rare, while wood carvings became popular only after the thirteenth century. The Thai occupation of Angkor and the resulting forced removal of artisans and craftsmen to Thailand resulted in the

impoverishment of Khmer arts. Post-Angkorian architectural works have been represented in the royal palace in Phnom Penh and in Buddhist temples throughout the country.

Music

One of the most common forms of artistic expression is improvised singing to traditional music. Cambodians have no musical *notation* system of their own and the Western system was not introduced until after World War II. Even today, traditional musicians do not use the Western musical scale. Most melodies and songs are carried from one generation to the next through oral tradition. Some of the songs have been carried back and forth from Thailand or Laos.

Playing a musical instrument is a common form of amusement. Making and playing an instrument is a traditional art form. Most instruments are decorated with elaborate *inlay* work. There is likely to be music at every social gathering. Today, it is not uncommon to see both Western and Cambodian instruments in the same orchestra. Among Western imports, the mandolin, guitar, and the violin are popular. A typical Cambodian orchestra, for example, the one that is used to accompany the royal ballet, would consist of three xylophones, two *kongthom* (large circles of suspended copper gongs), several one or two-stringed violins, several wind instruments made of bamboo or wood, and several drums.

There is music to accompany all celebrations and festivals. Traditional orchestras are common even in village celebrations and are composed exclusively of traditional Cambodian instruments. Families or neighbors may perform *impromptu* private concerts after dinner. The Cambodian music scale has five tones compared to seven in the Western scale. The musicians do not use a score but follow the lead of the instrument played by the orchestra leader. This leaves room for each player to improvise as much as he or she desires. The rhythm is usually a two-beat, neither fast nor slow.

Popular Games

Chhuong

Chhuong is a children's game played with a scarf rolled up to make a ball. The ball is tossed back and forth between two teams, one made up of boys and the other made up of girls. The idea is to keep the ball in the air as long as possible. The team that lets the ball fall on the ground loses and has to sing a song, or give the winners a piggyback ride.

Sei

Sei is one of the most popular games among the Cambodian people. "Sei" refers to the object used for kicking or hitting. The word also refers to the game itself. The object of the game is to keep the Sei in the air as long as possible. A good player must have superior concentration, coordination, speed, and endurance. One type of Sei is made out of feathers and large dry fish scales. Cardboard or leather may be substituted for the fish scales. The final shape of a Sei is close to that of a bird or the shuttlecock that is used in badminton. Another type of Sei is made of the stalk of the palm-leaf that has been woven into a hollow round ball.

Children learning to play the game may hit the object with palms of their hands, whereas adults use only their feet. A typical game may consist of four to eight people standing in a circle about four to six feet apart and facing each other. One player starts by tossing the Sei to a player on the opposite side. The player to whom the Sei is tossed kicks it to another player of his or her choice. There is a lot of fun and laughter during each game. Good players can keep the Sei in the air for several minutes at a time. Any part of the body, such a forehead, shoulder, chest, or knee can be used except the hands for adult team members. The player who lets the Sei hit the ground or become "dead" is penalized in some way such as having his nose pinched by all the players.

Leak Kansaeng

Leak Kansaeng, meaning scarf hiding, is a game played by children. It is popular in the countryside and played mostly by moonlight. The purpose of the game is to teach

children to be alert and aware of their surroundings. The only object needed is a piece of cloth or a scarf, the *kansaeng*. To play the game a group of children sit in a circle facing each other. A child is chosen to be the runner who goes around the back of the circle. The runner drops the scarf behind one of the seated children and continues to run around the circle. The child who has the scarf behind him picks it up and starts to chase the runner. The runner is "out" if he is caught before reaching the place vacated by the chaser. If the runner succeeds in arriving at the vacated spot before getting tapped from behind, the chaser is "out" and becomes the new runner. During the runner's trip around the circle, everybody sings the Leak Kansaeng song.

Angkunh

Angkunh is a hard brown nut with a roundish and rather flat shape measuring about two to three inches across. The game itself is also called Angkunh. It can be played by two or more players, young or adult. Participants are divided into male and female teams. Each team was between five and fifteen nuts. At the start of a game five nuts, considered as targets, are arranged in such a way that four are in the corners of a square and one is in the middle. The playing team should stand about fifteen feet from the target area. Each player starts by rolling his nut towards the target nuts. A point is scored when a target nut us hit. A set of a game is over when any one team has used up all the nuts to be rolled, or when the center target nut is hit. Points are then added up and the score recorded. Then it is the other team's turn to aim for the nuts. The team or player scoring the most points is the winner. Depending upon a pre-arranged agreement, the nuts can be rolled by a hand or by a foot.

For best results Angkunh should be played on a relatively smooth surface. This game is even more popular during the New Year season when children and adults play the game in public places such as pagodas, or playgrounds. Defeated players may get pinched on the nose, or hit on the knee with the nut.

Rek

Rek is a popular war game that started around the second century. This game consists of an eight by eight square game board and two armies made up of one king and 15 soldiers each. Two or more persons can play on each side, but only one piece can be moved at a time. The object of this game is to capture the opposing king by strategically moving the pieces.

Teanh Preat

Teanh-preat (tug-o-war) is a game played with a snake that is made out of several strands of rope. The snake is one of the gods in Cambodian mythology. Teams may be made up of both girls and boys.

Literature

Roots of Khmer literature can be traced farther back in time than in many other Southeast Asian countries. Although originally composed in Sanskrit that dated back to the second or third century, the scripts were transcribed in Khmer. Most Khmer literature was written on fragile materials that was easily damaged by climate or insects, and as a result little evidence of ancient writings are available today.

The most significant literary work translated from Pali was the entire series of the *Tripitaka*, the basic doctrine of Theravada Buddhism. This document took almost forty years to complete. The extensive translation was bound into 110 volumes of up to 900 pages each. Another remarkable work of translation is the *Ramayana*, the great Hindu epic. The effort was sponsored by the Buddhist Institute of Phnom Penh. Ancient writings, especially the Buddhist holy scripture, were produced, handled, and studied only by the monks.

There are substantial differences between spoken and written prose; these literary forms use words and expressions borrowed from Sanskrit and Pali. These words and expressions are colloquial. Modern novels, written in Khmer or French, are usually about ancient Khmer legends, historical events, love, or everyday life. Newspapers and magazines publish short stories and poems in both Khmer and French.

Comprehension Check 10.1
Fill in the blanks

1. _____ and _____ replaced sandstone as the medium of construction after the eleventh century.
2. The Cambodian music scale has _____ tones.
3. The rhythm in Cambodian music is usually a _____.

Performing Arts

The numerous bas-relief *apsaras* on the temples of Angkor attest to the fact that dancing was accorded royal patronage. The dancers of the royal courts of Angkor provided inspiration for Thai classical dance as it is still performed today. In previous times the court ballet performed only for the royal family and their guests at Angkor. The *troupe* also danced on both Buddhist and royal ceremonial occasions. During exceptionally dry farming seasons, dancers would give performances at the palace to induce spirits to provide rain for the rice crop.

Classical dance is usually accompanied by a traditional orchestra. The royal dances, as a rule, were not viewed by the general public. Dancers of the royal ballet wore beautifully decorated costumes, including head-dresses similar to those worn by the *apsaras* on the temples of Angkor Wat. Besides classical dance, the royal troupe also performed dramatic scenes from the Hindu tale, of the *Ramayana* and the Buddhist *Jataka* tales. Dance gestures involve graceful and complicated body movements, especially hand movements.

There were other dance-drama groups called Bassak that did not receive royal patronage. They were named after the province of Bassak from where they originated. This province is now a part of Vietnam. The Bassak dancers performed themes similar to those of classical dances, Buddhist texts, as well as the more popular indigenous legends, modern romances, and satires. The dance style of these groups is influenced by both India and China, and today they are performed only in the urban areas where larger audiences have cultivated an appreciation for the art.

The *yike* is another dance troupe originating in the rural areas. Their style comes from Siem Reap and is less elaborate. Their performances are influenced by folklore and are generally for rural audiences at local festivities. The accompanying musical group consists of several large shallow drums and one or two-stringed violins. These lively, rhythmic, and colorful folk dances performed on stage by groups of talented boys and girls are quite attractive to all types of audiences. Among the most popular performances are the coconut dance, the fishing dance, and the Krap dance. The *Ramvong* (circle dance), an especially well liked dance practiced by the majority of the rural population, is performed for a month or more as part of the New Year celebration. Groups of mixed couples gesture gracefully with their hands while approaching their partners without touching one another. The *Ramvong*, also called the *Lamthon*, often varies from village to village.

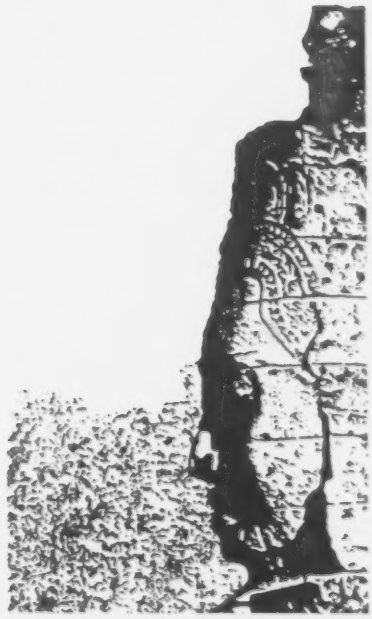
Crafts

Before the twentieth century extravagant arts and crafts were created for members of the royal family and the wealthy. Silver and gold work was of very high quality. Jewelry and ornate miniature boxes for *betel* storage were the most remarkable objects. After the turn of the century, this painstaking craft was abandoned as betel chewing became less popular among the wealthy classes who turned to the west for luxury items. As a result, many professionals who had been engaged in craftsmanship turned to agriculture for their livelihood.

The French administration, however, took steps to preserve traditional arts and crafts, by establishing the School of Fine Arts for the preservation of Khmer crafts. Craftsmen were employed as instructors to train students in their crafts and the French took care not to interfere with the traditional apprenticeship system. A new generation of Cambodian craftsmen thus emerged although the profession offered little of the social prestige of years past. Most of these craftsmen copied standard items made by others, rarely adding new or innovative techniques.

The most commonly practiced craft was silver and gold work, jewelry making, ebony sculptures, and hard wood and stone carvings. The objects produced were highly *functional*, for example, cigarette boxes, sugar and cream sets, cosmetics sets, flower pots, and trophies. The designs were generally based on figures and floral patterns borrowed from the Angkor period.

With regard to folk arts, Cambodians took special pride in the making of silk items: the *hol*, the *phamuong*, the *sarong*, and the scarf. Dying involved the use of native vegetable ingredients. Each piece of *hol* to be used for one *sampot* was dyed and woven separately by hand so that no two garments were the same. Any one piece of these garments could take several months to finish. These highly coveted items of clothing were quite expensive and only worn on special occasions.



GLOSSARY

1. *betel*

A vine that produces fresh leaves that are wrapped around pieces of areca nuts. This mixture is chewed like chewing tobacco to obtain mild stimulation.

2. *functional*

Having practical use.

3. *impromptu*

Spur of the moment, to act without previous study or preparation.

4. *inlay*

To make patterns on the surface of a material by inserting another material.

5. *lintel*

A post that runs across the top of two parallel posts bearing the weight above an opening such as in a doorway.

6. *notation*

Abbreviations that guide people working on a particular subject.

7. *pediment*

A triangular space forming a gable for a two-pitched roof.

8. *score*

A musical composition for different instruments and voices.

9. *steles*

A handle or the wooden shaft of an arrow.

10. *troupe*

A group of performers.

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Student Activity 1
True or False

____1. The temples of Angkor are the only remains of Cambodia's great ancient heritage.

____2. Presently, the primary concern of the people of Cambodia is the restoration of their ancient art.

____3. Khmer temples were often laid out with a complex mathematical scheme.

____4. Sandstone started to replace bricks as the medium of construction from the end of the tenth century.

____5. The Cambodian music scale has seven tones.

____6. The translation of *Tripitaka* into Khmer took roughly forty years.

____7. The Ramvong is a popular dance during the New Year festivities.

____8. Craftsmen once enjoyed great occupational prestige.

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice

1. Of the presently known Khmer structures:

   a. all were erected after the eleventh century
   b. all were erected before the seventh century
   c. all were erected after the start of the seventh century
   d. all were erected before the thirteenth century

2. Which of the following is true:

   a. Khmer temples were constructed in sandstone before the tenth century
   b. bricks that were bonded together replaced sandstone after the thirteenth century
   c. sandstone was the only building material for temples throughout the eleventh century
   d. temple buildings erected after the thirteenth century were more durable than those erected two centuries before that time

3. Before the thirteenth century Khmer temple statues were usually made of:

   a. wood
   b. sandstone
   c. bronze
   d. copper

4. Which of the following is true:

   a. wood is more durable than sandstone
   b. bronze is more durable than sandstone for making statues
   c. sandstone is more durable than wood
   d. none of the above

5. Which of the following is not a traditional Khmer musical instrument:

   a. Chop Choeng
   b. Kong Thom
   c. Tro Khmer
   d. mandolin

6. The object of most games is:

   a. victory
   b. cultivation of social interaction
   c. appeasement of the gods
   d. exercise

7. Which among the following closely resembles Sei:

   a. tennis
   b. racquetball
   c. badminton
   d. football

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice (cont.)

8. The purpose of Leak Kansaeng is:

   a. to teach children hunting and stalking skills
   b. to introduce children to the beauty of the moonlight
   c. to teach children socialization skills
   d. to teach children to be aware of their surroundings

9. The objective of Rek is:

   a. to capture the opposing king
   b. socialization
   c. exercise
   d. to introduce players to the basics of warfare

10. Ancient writings in Khmer were studied by:

    a. monks only
    b. every citizen
    c. royalty
    d. civil servants

11. Which of the following is not true:

    a. the court ballet performed only for royalty
    b. the Bassak showed influence from India and China
    c. the yike form of dance originated in Rotanokiri Province
    d. the coconut dance, the fishing dance, and the Krap dance are folk dances

12. At the turn of the twentieth century, the most remarkable Khmer craft objects were:

    a. large statues of the Buddha
    b. ebony sculptures
    c. silver jewelry
    d. jewelry pieces and miniature boxes

13. The establishment of the School of Fine Arts:

    a. improved the standard of contemporary Cambodian crafts dramatically
    b. was instrumental in elevating the social status of craftsmen
    c. did not substantially improve the standard of Cambodian crafts
    d. created a new class of craftsmen

14. Dying of silk was done by:

    a. using native vegetable ingredients
    b. using chemicals imported from Thailand
    c. the Cham
    d. the majority of Cambodian people

Student Activity 3
Matching Columns

____1. naga	a. Hindu epic
____2. apsara	b. Lamthon
____3. Tripitaka	c. a tug-o-war game
____4. Ramayana	d. dance drama originated in Siem Reap
____5. yike	e. basic document of Theravada Buddhism
____6. ramvong	f. cobra-headed dragon
____7. Teanh Preat	g. women dancers

Student Activity 4
General Questions

1. Describe the layout of a typical Khmer temple.

2. Trace the change in construction techniques from the seventh century to the thirteenth century. What could have prompted these changes?

3. What are the chief subjects of modern sculpture in Cambodia?

4. What instruments are in a traditional village orchestra? What are the two major differences between Cambodian and Western music systems?

5. Compare a Cambodian game to a similar American game children play.

6. Why is there very little evidence of ancient Khmer literature?

7. Describe the major dances of Cambodia.

8. What are the reasons for the decline of Cambodian crafts in the twentieth century?

Student Activity 5
Group Projects

1. The *Ramayana* is a Hindu epic. Choose three major epics of other cultures. Write a summary of each epic. Discuss the similarities and differences of each epic.

2. Research the five major silk growing countries in the world. Write a one page summary on one of the these countries.

ANSWER KEY

Student Activity 1
True or False

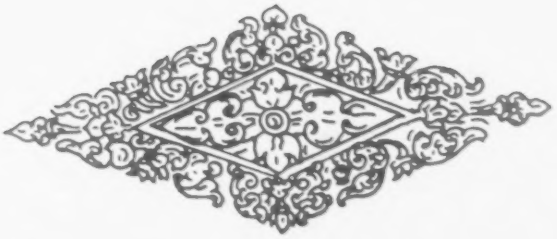
1. F 5. F
2. F 6. T
3. T 7. T
4. T 8. F

Student Activity 2
Multiple Choice

1. C 6. B 11. C
2. C 7. C 12. D
3. B 8. D 13. C
4. C 9. A 14. A
5. D 10. A

Student Activity 3
Matching Columns

1. F 5. D
2. G 6. B
3. E 7. C
4. A



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